XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

26th Congress,
1st Session.

[SENATE.]

[174]

MEMOIR,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

ON THE

NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,

AND THE

ADJACENT TERRITORIES;

ILLUSTRATED BY

A MAP AND A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

By Robert Greenhow,

TRANSLATOR AND LIBRARIAN TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

FEBRUARY 10, 1840.

Submitted by Mr. LINN, from the Select Committee on the Oregon Territory; and ordered to be printed, and that 2,500 additional copies be sent to the Senate.

WASHINGTON:
BLAIR AND RIVES, PRINTERS.
1840.

PREFACE.

The following correspondence, between the Chairman of the Committee of the Senate on the Oregon Territory and the Secretary of State, together with extracts from the Journal of the Senate, will serve to show the circumstances under which this Memoir has been written and published.

Washington, *January* 25, 1840.

Sir: I am informed that your department is in possession of much information relating to the territory of Oregon, its geography, resources, and the title of the United States to the same. If consistent with your duty, I would be pleased to be put in possession of such papers and documents as you may think proper to send me, requesting that you will mark such as you would rather not have printed or made public.

Your obedient servant,
L. F. LINN,
Chairman of the Select Committee on the Territory of Oregon.

Hon. John Forsyth, *Secretary of State.*

Answer.

Department of State,
Washington, January 25, 1840.

Sir: I have had the honor to receive your letter of this day's date, asking for information relative to the territory of Oregon, its geography and resources, and the title of the United States to the same. Mr. Greenhow, the translator and librarian of this department, has been for some time past, by my direction, employed in collecting and arranging historical information on the subject of the northwestern coasts of America; I send you the result of his labors, and submit it to the discretion of the committee to be printed or not, as they may think most advisable. Not having had the leisure to compare the statements in the Memoir with the various works and documents upon which they are founded, I can vouch only for the zeal, industry, and good faith of Mr. Greenhow, by whom they were prepared.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,
JOHN FORSYTH,
Secretary of State.

Hon. Lewis F. Linn,
Senator of the United States.

From the Journal of the Senate of the United States.

"MONDAY, *February* 10, 1840.—On motion by Mr. LINN,

"*Ordered*, That a history of the northwest coast of North America and the adjacent territories, communicated to the Select Committee on the Oregon Territory, be printed, with the accompanying map; and that two thousand five hundred copies, in addition to the usual number, be printed for the use of the Senate."

"WEDNESDAY, *February* 12, 1840.—On motion by Mr. LINN,

"*Ordered*, That the history of the northwest coast of North America, ordered to be printed on the 10th instant, be printed under the direction of Mr. Greenhow."

The Memoir relates principally to the southern and middle portions of the northwest coast of this continent and the adjoining territories, which have for many years formed the subjects of discussions between the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia; and it is designed to show the origin, nature, and extent of the several claims, in order to afford the means of correctly estimating the justice of each. In prosecuting these objects, it has been found necessary to trace the whole progress of discovery and settlement, not only in the territories above mentioned, but also in those farther north, in which the exclusive right of the Russians to form establishments has been recognised by the other Powers, and in the region called California, on the south, which constitutes a part of the Mexican republic. With this view, the original authorities have been carefully examined and compared, and the facts thus elicited are here related concisely or at length, as their general importance or their bearing upon the chief objects of the Memoir appeared to justify.

Expeditions for the purposes of discovery, trade, or settlement, and disputes between the Governments or the people of distant civilized nations, have afforded, as yet, the only materials for the history of this section of America; and those materials have remained scattered through the annals of other countries, the journals of voyages and travels, and official or private reports and letters, the correctness of which could not be ascertained without great labor and research. Accounts of all these expeditions and discussions are here presented, arranged in the form of a regular narrative, so as to embrace *a complete history of the western portion of our continent*—if it be allowable to speak of the *history* of a country which still remains almost entirely in a state of nature.

This work is, however, not strictly a history; nor is it merely an argument in support of the title of the United States to the possession of the territories in dispute. The writer has endeavored, agreeably to the directions of Mr. Forsyth, to afford a clear and distinct view of the pretensions of each of the claimant Powers, and of the circumstances on which they are based. Although he has, for the sake of completeness, introduced some facts and reasonings not directly relevant to those objects, he has, on the other hand, suppressed none which, if given, might have led to conclusions more nearly just.

In illustration of the Memoir, a geographical account of the western section of North America has been prefixed to it, together with a map of those countries, drawn from the best authorities which could be procured. The geographical account has been necessarily much compressed, the limits of the work not permitting details; while the map is, on the whole, much fuller than any other of that part of the world which has yet been published. With regard to the correctness of the descriptions, the coast will, it is believed, be found represented with sufficient accuracy, both in the account, and on the map; but the interior of the continent, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, and, indeed, to the vicinity of the Mississippi, has been as yet so imperfectly examined, that very little precise topographical information respecting it can be procured.

Great care has been taken to present the dates of the several occurrences, and the authorities on which they are recounted, so that the reader will have the means of satisfying himself as to the truth of each statement; with regard to the reasonings and deductions, he must rely upon his own powers of discrimination.

WASHINGTON, *May* 12, 1840.

pretensions of each of the claimant Powers, and of the circumstances on which they are based. Although he has, for the sake of completeness, introduced some facts and reasonings not directly relevant to those objects, he has, on the other hand, suppressed none which, if given, might have led to conclusions more really just.

In illustration of the Memoir, a geographical account of the western section of North America has been prefixed to it, together with a map of those countries, drawn from the best authorities which could be procured. The geographical account has been necessarily much compressed, the limits of the work not permitting details; while the map is, on the whole, much fuller than any other of that part of the world which has yet been published. With regard to the correctness of the descriptions, the coast will, it is believed, be found represented with sufficient accuracy both in the account and on the map; but the interior of the continent, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, and, indeed, to the vicinity of the Mississippi, has been as yet so imperfectly examined, that very little precise topographical information respecting it can be procured.

Great care has been taken to present the dates of the several occurrences, and the authorities on which they are recounted, so that the reader will have the means of satisfying himself as to the truth of each statement; with regard to the reasonings and deductions, he must rely upon his own powers of discrimination.

Washington, May 12, 1840.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

Page.
Introduction - 1
Great natural divisions of the western section of North America - 1
Political divisions - 2
Claims of Great Britain, Russia, the United States, and Mexico - 2
General view of the whole coast - 3
Description of the northernmost territories of the western section - 4
Description of the southern portion, or California - 9
General view of the mountain-ridges of the western section - 11
Particular description of Oregon, or the country drained by the Columbia - 12
First region of Oregon, or *low country* - 14
Second region, or *middle country* - 16
Third region, or *upper country* - 17
The Columbia and its branches - 18

MEMOIR, HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL, ON THE NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, AND THE ADJACENT TERRITORIES.

Year. Page.
1493. America discovered, and supposed to be connected with Asia - 21
1495. Treaty of Partition between Spain and Portugal - 21
1499. First voyage from Europe to India, by Gama, around Africa - 22
1500. Discovery of the Strait of Anian (probably Hudson's Strait) by Cortereal - 39
1513. Discovery of the Pacific Ocean by Balboa - 22
1517. Discovery of Mexico by Grijalva - 22
1520. Voyage of Magellan from Europe to India, westward across the Pacific - 22
1523. Conquest of Mexico completed by Cortes, who explores the adjacent coasts in search of rich countries and passages for ships between the Atlantic and the Pacific - 23
1532. Voyages of Hurtado Mendoza, Grijalva, and Becerra in the north Pacific, by order of Cortes - 24
1534. Becerra discovers the southern extremity of California - 24
1535. Voyage of Cortes in the Gulf of California - 25
1536. Cabeza Vaca completes his journey across the continent, from Florida to the Californian Gulf - 27
1539. Voyage of Ulloa, who discovers the west coast of California to the 30th degree of latitude - 26
Journey of Friar Marcos de Niza, who pretends to have discovered a rich country, called Cibola, northwest of Mexico - 28
1540-'3. Expeditions of Alarcon and Coronado in search of Cibola - 29
Voyage of Cabrillo and Ferrelo, who discover the west coast to the 43d degree of latitude - 30
Expedition of Villalobos from Mexico to India, and discovery of the Philippine Islands - 32
1547. Death of Cortes - 28
1564. Expedition of Legaspi from Mexico to India; conquest of the Philippine Islands, and discovery of the mode of navigating the Pacific from west to east, by Urdanete - 32
Establishment of the Spanish trade between America and India - 33
Prohibitory measures of the Spaniards against the trade or settlement of other nations in America - 34
1578 '80. Voyage of Francis Drake, who visits the northwest coast - 36, 201
1580. Voyage of Gali from China to Mexico, in which he sails along the northwest coast - 33
1587. Voyage of Cavendish around the world - 37

Year.		Page.
1587.	Attempts of the English to discover passages for ships between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, causing great uneasiness to the Spanish Government	39
1588.	Pretended northern voyage of Maldonado from the Atlantic to the Pacific	40, 205
1592.	Voyage of Juan de Fuca along the northwest coast	42, 207
1594.	Voyage of Cermenon, who is wrecked on the Bay of San Francisco	44
	Spanish Government orders colonies to be established in California	44
1596.	Voyage of Vizcaino in the Gulf of California	44
1602.	Survey of the west coast to the 43d degree of latitude by Vizcaino	44
1603.	Supposed discovery of a great river, near the 43d degree, by Aguilar, in one of Vizcaino's vessels	46
1610.	Discovery of Hudson's Bay by Hudson	47
1616.	Discovery of the navigation around Cape Horn, by Lemaire and Van Schouten	47
1640.	Supposed northern voyage of Fonte from the Pacific to the Atlantic	41
1643.	Voyage of De Vries in the Pacific, north of Japan	58
1669.	Charter given to the Hudson's Bay Company by King Charles II. of England	75
	Unsuccessful attempts of the Spaniards to plant colonies in California	48
1697.	The Jesuits undertake the reduction of California for the King of Spain	48
	The Russians conquer Kamschatka	58
1700.	Father Kuhn, a Jesuit, ascertains that California is connected with the American continent	59
1711.	Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, forms plans for exploring the seas east of Kamschatka, and for extending his dominion to America	150
1712.	Louis XIV., King of France, grants Louisiana to Crozat	150
	Supposed extent of Louisiana at that time	150
1714.	Treaty of Utrecht between Great Britain and France, no boundary-line established in America agreeably to its provisions	150, 216
1728.	Voyage of Beering, by order of the Empress Catherine of Russia, from Kamschatka into the Arctic Sea	59
	The sea east of Kamschatka ascertained to be a part of the Pacific	60
1741.	Voyage of Beering and Tschirikof to America	60
	Beering discovers the American continent near Mount Saint Elias	61
	Beering is wrecked on one of the Aleutian Islands, where he dies	63
	Tschirikof discovers America near the 56th degree of latitude, and returns to Kamschatka	63
1742.	The survivors of Beering's crew return to Kamschatka, and begin the fur trade between that country and the islands eastward of it	64
1762.	France cedes Louisiana to Spain	75
1763.	France cedes Canada to England	149
	General peace; British and French voyages of discovery	51
1766.	Voyage of Synd	66
1766-'8.	Journey of Carver through the country west of Lake Superior	76
1768.	Voyage of Krenitzin and Levashef from Kamschatka	66
	Expulsion of the Jesuits from America	50
1769.	Establishment of the first colonies on the west coast of North America by the Spaniards	53
1769-'72.	Journeys of Hearne, west and northwest from Hudson's Bay, to the Arctic Sea	75
1770.	Dispute between Great Britain and Spain about the Falkland Islands	54
1771.	First voyage from Kamschatka to China, by a party of Polish exiles, under Count Benyowsky	66
1774.	Voyage of the Spaniards, under Perez, along the northwest coast to the 53d degree of latitude	69
1775.	Voyage of the Spaniards, under Heceta, Bodega, and Maurelle, to the 58th degree of latitude	70
	Heceta discovers the mouth of a river, named by him San Roque, now called the Columbia	72
1776.	Captain Cook sails from England for the Pacific, in search of a northern passage from that sea to the Atlantic	78
1778.	Cook examines the northwest coast of America to the 70th degree	79
1779.	Death of Cook and of his successor Clerke	83
	The English, under Gore, on their way to England, carry to Canton the first furs which entered that place by sea	83
	Voyage of the Spaniards under Arteaga, Bodega, and Maurelle, to Prince William's Sound	84
1783.	Association of merchants in Siberia for carrying on the fur trade	88
	Expedition under Shellikof, who establishes settlements on the Island of Kodiak	88
1784.	Publication of the Journals of Cook's Voyage	86
	Preparations begun in many countries for carrying on the fur trade between Northwest America and China	87

Year.		Page.
1786.	Voyage of the French, under La Pérouse, from Mount Saint Elias to Monterey	88
1787.	Berkely discovers the Strait of Fuca	91
	Voyages of Portlock and Dixon	92
	Sept. 30. The ship Columbia, Capt. Kendrick, and sloop Washington, Captain Gray, sail together from Boston for the north Pacific	89
	Formation of the Northwest Fur-trading Company of Montreal	139
1788.	Captains Kendrick and Gray arrive at Nootka, where they spend the following winter	90
	Voyages of Meares and Douglas from Macao to the northwest coast	100
	Meares attempts to find the River San Roque, and pronounces that none such exists	93
	Voyage of the Spaniards, under Martinez and Haro, to observe the progress of the Russians on the north Pacific coasts	96
	Attempt of Ledyard to pass, through Russia and America, from Paris to the United States	94
1789.	Martinez and Haro sent by the Viceroy of Mexico to occupy Nootka	97
	Complaints addressed by the Spanish Government to that of Russia against the encroachments of Russians in America	97
	The Spaniards occupy Nootka, and seize vessels which are said to be the property of British subjects	104, 212
	Captain Gray first sails around Queen Charlotte's Island, to which he gives the name of Washington Island	92
	The Spaniards quit Nootka; which they, however, reoccupy in the following spring, under the command of Elisa	117
1790.	The owners of the vessels seized at Nootka complain to the British Government, which demands satisfaction from that of Spain	111
	The King of Spain asks aid from Louis XVI. of France to resist the demand, which is refused by the National Assembly of France	113
	Spain promises satisfaction to Great Britain	114
	Oct. 28. A convention is signed between those Powers, respecting the navigation of thePacific and the right of occupying its vacant American coasts	114
	Remarks made on that convention in the British Parliament	115
	The Spaniards from Nootka endeavor to explore the northwest coasts	118
	Voyages of Fidalgo and Quimper	118
	Voyage of the Russians, under Billings, from Kamschatka	122
	Observations on the nature and duration of the engagements entered into between Great Britain and Spain by the convention of October 28	171
1791.	Captain Vancouver sent from England with two ships to explore the northwest coasts of America, and as commissioner to receive the lands and buildings at Nootka, to be restored by the Spaniards according to the convention of 1790	118
	Voyages of the Spaniards under Malaspina and Elisa	118
	Voyage of Marchand in the French ship Solide	119
	Seven vessels arrive from the United States in the north Pacific, to be employed in the fur trade	119
	Captain Ingraham, in the Hope, from Boston, discovers the Washington Islands	119
	Captain Gray, in the Columbia, from Boston, discovers the mouth of the great river seen by Heceta in 1775, but cannot enter it	120
	Captain Kendrick, in the Washington, from Boston, discovers a new passage from Nootka Sound to the sea, and purchases lands near Nootka from the savages	121
	He commences the trade in sandal-wood	[illegible]
	Unsuccessful voyage of the Russians from Kamschatka, under Hall and Saretschef	122
1792.	Voyages of the Spaniards under Caamano, and Galiano and Valdes	122
	The Spaniards endeavor, unsuccessfully, to establish a new settlement on the Strait of Fuca	123
	Queen Charlotte's, or Washington Island, explored and frequented by the American fur-traders	92, 123
	Captain Quadra arrives at Nootka as commissioner on the part of Spain to execute the convention of 1790	132
	Vancouver arrives on the American coast, near Cape Mendocino	123
	He examines the coast northward to the Strait of Fuca, and pronounces that there is no large river or inlet there	125
	Gray, in the Columbia, on his way to examine the river which he had found in the preceding year, meets Vancouver near the Strait of Fuca, and informs him of the discovery, which Vancouver doubts	125
	Gray discovers *Bulfinch's Harbor*, and enters the great river, (May 11,) which he names after his ship, the *Columbia*	128

Year.		Page.
1792.	Observations on this discovery	129
	Vancouver surveys the Strait of Fuca, partly in company with the Spanish vessels Sutil and Mexicana, under Galiano and Valdes	131
	Observations on the Journal of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana	132
	Vancouver and Quadra meet at Nootka	132
	Letter addressed to Quadra by Gray and Ingraham, (August 3,) detailing the occurrences at Nootka in the summer of 1789	132, 212
	Vancouver's false synopsis of that letter	134
	Negotiations between Vancouver and Quadra, as related by Howel	134
	The commissioners agree to wait for orders from their Governments	134
	Quadra communicates accounts and charts of Gray's discoveries to Vancouver	135
	Survey of Bulfinch's Harbor by Vancouver's lieutenant, Whidbey	135
	Survey of the Columbia by Lieutenant Broughton, who attempts to appropriate to himself the merit of first entering the great river	136
	Vancouver winters at the Sandwich Islands; his proceedings there	137
	Expedition of Rodman and a party of Americans from the mouth of the Missouri across the continent, to the Pacific	140
1793.	Vancouver surveys the northwest Archipelago	137
	He winters at the Sandwich Islands, the sovereignty of one of which is ceded to Great Britain by Tamahamaha	138
	Death of Quadra	138
	Alava appointed Spanish commissioner in place of Quadra	138
	Expeditions of Mackenzie across the continent to the Pacific, which he reaches near the 53d degree of latitude	140
1794.	Vancouver completes his surveys of the northwest coast, and sails for England	141
1795.	The Spaniards abandon Nootka	141
1796.	Broughton arrives as British commissioner at Nootka, which he finds occupied only by the savages	141
	Spain declares war against Great Britain	143
1797.	Death of Vancouver, and publication of his Journals	139
	Observations on his Journals	139
	Whole of the direct trade in furs from the northwest coast to China carried on by Americans, from 1796 to 1814	143
	Formation of the Russian-American Company, which receives a charter (1799) from the Emperor Paul	145
1800.	Foundation of Sitca, or New Archangel, by the Russians, under Baranof	145
	Louisiana ceded by Spain to France, which (1803) cedes it to the United States	149
	Observations on the extent of Louisiana	150
1803.	Voyage of Krusenstern and Lisiansky from St. Petersburgh to the north Pacific	146
	Destruction of the ship Boston, of Boston, by the savages at Nootka Sound	142
1804.	Lewis and Clarke begin their expedition across the continent	152
1805.	They reach the mouth of the Columbia	152
1806.	And return to the United States	153
	Frazer, and others in the employ of the Northwest Trading Company, cross the Rocky Mountains, and form the first British establishment in that part of America on Frazer's Lake	155
	Krusenstern and Lisiansky complete their voyage of circumnavigation	147
1807.	Convention signed at London between the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and the United States, for the settlement of boundaries in America, but not concluded	154
1808.	Missouri Fur Company at Saint Louis	156
	Henry establishes a trading-post on the Lewis River	156
	Russian Government complains to that of the United States of the misconduct of American fur-traders in supplying the natives on the northwest coasts with arms	147
	Negotiations on that subject ineffectual	148
1810.	Formation of the Pacific Fur Company at New York, by J. J. Astor	156
	Parties sent by sea from New York, and by land from Saint Louis, to establish factories on the Columbia	157
1811.	Foundation of *Astoria*, near the mouth of that river	157
	Adventurous journey of the land party under Hunt	158
	Destruction of the ship Tonquin, which had carried out the other party, and her crew, by the savages near Nootka	158
1812.	War declared by the United States against Great Britain	158
	The Russians establish themselves in California near Port San Francisco	148
1813.	Property of the Americans on the Columbia sold to the Northwest Company	160
	Astoria taken by a British ship of war, and its name changed to Fort George	161
1814.	Peace of Ghent between Great Britain and the United States	163

Year.		Page.
1814.	Agreeably to which, (1815,) the Americans demand the restitution of Astoria	164
	The Russians attempt unsuccessfully to take possession of one of the Sandwich Islands	148
1817.	Messrs. Prevost and Biddle sent in the ship Ontario to take possession of Astoria,	164
	Discussions on the subject between the British and American Governments	164
1818.	Astoria restored formally by the British authorities to those of the United States	165
	Negotiation between Great Britain and the United States	168
	Negotiation ended by the convention of October, 1818	169, 219
	Negotiation between the United States and Spain, terminated by the *Florida Treaty*, (February, 1819,) in which the 42d parallel of latitude is made the boundary between the territories of the two Powers west of the Rocky Mountains	170, 219
1819.	Charter of the Russian-American Company renewed for twenty years	176
1820.	Florida Treaty ratified	173
1821.	Mexico becomes independent of Spain	173
	Coalition of the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Companies	175
	Act of British Parliament for regulating the fur trade, and establishing a criminal and civil jurisdiction in the Indian territories, which are granted to the Hudson's Bay Company	175
	Ukase of the Russian Emperor, claiming all the west coasts of America north of the 51st parallel	176
1822.	Discussions between the Russian and the American Governments on this subject	176
1823.	Propositions made on the part of the United States for a joint convention respecting Northwest America, between the United States, Great Britain, and Russia	177
	Propositions for a joint convention declined by the other Powers	178
	Proceedings in the Congress of the United States	173, 178, 179
1824.	Negotiation between the United States and Great Britain broken off	179
	Negotiation between the United States and Russia terminated by a convention, fixing the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes as the limit between the parts of the coast on which either Power could form establishments	180, 220
1825.	Convention of a similar nature between Great Britain and Russia	181, 221
	Revival of the fur trade between Saint Louis and the Columbia countries	195
1826.	Renewal of negotiation at London between the British and American Governments	183
1827.	Convention prolonging for an indefinite period the third article of the convention of October, 1818	185, 223
	Observations on the pretensions advanced by the parties in this negotiation	185
1829.	First trading expedition from Missouri to the Rocky Mountains in which wagons were employed	195
	Debates in Congress with respect to the occupation of Oregon	188
1834-'38.	Negotiations between the Governments of the United States and Russia, respecting the renewal of the 4th article of the convention of 1825	189
	Hudson's Bay Company's expedition to take possession of the River Stikine rendered fruitless by the Russians	190
	Particular account of the Hudson's Bay Company's system and establishments	192
	Captain Bonneville's trading expedition from Missouri to the Columbia	196
	Captain Wyeth's attempts to form American trading establishments beyond the Rocky Mountains	196
	Establishment of American colonies on the river Wallamet	198
	Reflections on the fur trade in America, and on the future destinies of the countries beyond the Rocky Mountains	199

APPENDIX.

A.—Respecting the part of the northwest coast seen by Drake in 1579 - - - - 201

B.—Respecting the pretended northern voyage of Maldonado from the Atlantic to the Pacific in 1588 - - - - 205

C.—Account of the voyage of Juan de Fuca in the north Pacific in 1592, extracted from Purchas's Pilgrims - - - - 207

D.—Correspondence at Nootka in 1792, between the Spanish commissioner Quadra, and Messrs. Gray and Ingraham, the commanders of two American vessels, respecting the occurrences at that place in 1789 - - - - 212

E.—Showing that the 49th parallel of latitude was probably *not* adopted as the line of separation between the British and French territories in America, agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht in 1714 - - - - 216

F.—Containing extracts and copies of treaties between various nations respecting the northwest coast of America - - - - 219

ERRATA.

Since the following pages were printed, the author has discovered two errors, which, though not bearing upon any important question, he regrets, and is anxious to correct; particularly as the misstatements are injurious to the memory of Captain Cook, one of the noblest men whom any age or country has produced.

In order to correct these errors,

1. Substitute for the two last sentences of the second paragraph, in page 46, the following: "The Cape Blanco, mentioned as the northern limit of Aguilar's progress along the coast, is probably the same on which Vancouver, in 1792, bestowed the name of Cape Orford.

2. Expunge the last sentence but one of the third paragraph in page 79, containing the words—"In this part of his voyage he recognised the Cape Blanco of Aguilar, near the 43d parallel, but he thought proper to bestow on it the name of Cape Gregory."

GEOGRAPHY

OF THE

WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

I. **The *northwest coast* is the expression usually employed in the United States, at the present time, to distinguish the vast portion of the American continent, which extends north of the 40th parallel of latitude from the Pacific to the great dividing ridge of the *Rocky Mountains*, together with the contiguous islands in that ocean. The southern part of this territory, which is drained almost entirely by the River Columbia, is commonly called *Oregon*, from the supposition (no doubt erroneous) that such was the name applied to its principal stream by the aborigines. To the more northern parts of the continent many appellations, which will hereafter be mentioned, have been assigned by navigators and fur-traders of various nations. The territory bordering upon the Pacific southward, from the 40th parallel to the extremity of the peninsula which stretches in that direction as far as the Tropic of Cancer, is called *California;* a name of uncertain derivation, formerly applied by the Spaniards to the whole western section of North America, as that of *Florida* was employed by them to designate the regions bordering upon the Atlantic. The northwest coast and the west coast of California, together, form the *west coast of North America;* as it has been found impossible to separate the history of these two portions, so it will be necessary to include them both in this geographical view.[*]**

In order to show that the *fortieth parallel of latitude* is not assumed arbitrarily, and without adequate grounds, as the southern limit of the northwest coast, it would be sufficient to cite the fact, that this line crosses the American continent exactly midway between its most northern and its most southern points; but there are physical reasons for the assumption, no less strong than those based on such geometrical considerations. Almost immediately under the said parallel the coast makes an

---

[*] In the following pages, the term *coast* will be used, sometimes as signifying only the sea-shore, and sometimes as embracing the whole territory, extending therefrom to the sources of the river; care has been, however, taken to prevent misapprehension, where the context does not sufficiently indicate the true sense. In order to avoid repetitions, *the northwest coast* will be understood to be *the northwest coast of North America;* all *latitudes* will be taken as *north latitudes*, and all *longitudes* as *west from Greenwich*, unless otherwise expressed.

angle at a point called *Cape Mendocino*, from which one line runs due north for a great distance, while the other takes a southeast direction. Moreover, this cape is the western extremity of a ridge of lofty mountains, extending continuously from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, nearly in the course of the 40th parallel, and completely dividing the region of which the waters flow southward from that drained by streams entering the Pacific north of the cape. This transverse ridge, generally called the *Snowy Mountains*, appears, indeed, to be the boundary indicated by nature between California, on the south, and Oregon, or the country of the Columbia, on the north; not only does it serve as a barrier of separation almost impassable, but the differences in climate and productions between the territories on either side of it are much greater than could have been supposed, considering merely their respective distances from the equator. California is essentially a *southern* country, while Oregon exhibits the peculiarities of the *north*.

The coasts of this section of America have been carefully surveyed by distinguished scientific navigators, and they may be found accurately delineated on charts; with regard to the interior, however, little exact geographical information has been yet obtained. From all that can be learned respecting the continent north of the 58th parallel, it is a waste of rocky snow-clad mountains, incapable of sustaining a population, and, indeed, almost impenetrable. Of California, or the country south of the 40th parallel, no accounts are to be procured, except as to the portion immediately contiguous to the sea. It is only of the territory included between these two lines of latitude, which is drained principally by the great River Columbia, that we can speak with any confidence; even of this territory, all descriptions must be conveyed in general and qualified terms, and much remains to be done in it by the astronomer before our maps can present any other than very imperfect representations of its surface.

In the following geographical sketch, an attempt will be made to combine the results of information and inquiry, relative to the western section of North America, in such a manner as to produce distinct impressions of its most prominent and characteristic features, adding only those details which may be requisite or useful in order to illustrate the statements and views contained in the political and historical memoir. In so doing, it has been found convenient to adopt the territorial divisions indicated by nature, rather than those which have been agreed on between the Governments of various distant nations. The boundaries settled by these conventions will, however, be first described, and general ideas of the political questions at issue, with regard to this part of the world, will thus be easily communicated.

POLITICAL DIVISION OF THE WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA.

II. By the Florida treaty, concluded in 1819 between the United States and Spain, a line drawn along the 42d parallel of latitude, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, was fixed as the northern limit of the Spanish territory and the southern limit of that of the United States in western America. By a subsequent treaty between the latter Power and Mexico, the same line was admitted to separate the possessions of the two republics, Mexico taking the place of Spain. The Mexicans, accordingly, claim the country as far north as the 42d parallel; but the Russians effectually bar the exercise of any Mexican authority beyond the Bay of San Francisco, near the 38th degree, by means of their colonies and garrisons in that quarter, established in 1812, and ever since maintained in defiance alike of Spain and of her republican successors.

By the convention of 1824, between the United States and Russia, it was agreed that the Russians should make no settlements on the west coasts of North America, or the adjacent islands, south of the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, and the United States should establish none north of that parallel.

By the convention of 1825, between Russia and Great Britain, it was in like manner stipulated that the British should occupy no place on the coasts or islands north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, and that the Russians should make no settlement south of the same latitude; it was, moreover, agreed that a line drawn from that parallel northward, along the summits of the mountains, within 20 miles of the sea, to its intersection with the 141st meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, (passing through Mount Saint Elias,) and thence, along that meridian, to the Arctic Sea, should be the "limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest."

Thus two lines of boundary appear on the map of Northwest America, running completely across it: one northward, from the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes, to the Arctic sea, as settled between Great Britain and Russia; and the other following the course of the 42d parallel, from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, as agreed on between the United States and Mexico. Of the intermediate region, no part has been as yet definitively assigned by convention to any one nation; the Americans claim the portion north from the 42d parallel, and the British claim that south from the other line of boundary—each party to an extent undefined, but so far as to secure for itself the large and valuable country drained by the Columbia River. These nations have provisionally compromised their pretensions by an arrangement, made in 1818, and continued in 1827 for an unlimited period, to the effect, that any territory in that section of America, claimed by either, should be equally free and open for navigation, trade, and settlement, to the citizens or subjects of both; the Government of each being at liberty to abrogate the arrangement, after giving due notice of twelve months to that of the other.[*]

III. The political questions at issue between the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and Mexico having been summarily stated, we will now present a—

VIEW OF THE WESTERN SECTION OF NORTH AMERICA, ACCORDING TO ITS NATURAL DIVISIONS.

The northern extremity of the west coast of America is *Cape Prince of Wales*, in latitude of 65 degrees 52 minutes, which is also the westernmost spot in the whole continent; it is situated on the eastern side of

---

[*] The Russian settlements in America are under the control of the *Russian-American Company*, of which a particular account will be found at page 143 of the memoir. For notices of the *Hudson's Bay Company*, to which belong all the British establishments west of the Rocky Mountains, see pages 75 and 193; and, for copies of the treaties, see Appendix [F.]

Beering's Strait, a channel fifty-one miles in width, connecting the Pacific with the *Arctic (or Icy, or North Frozen) Ocean*, on the western side of which strait, opposite Cape Prince of Wales, is *East Cape*, the eastern extremity of Asia. Beyond Beering's Strait the shores of the two continents recede from each other. The *north coast of America* has been traced from Cape Prince of Wales northeastward, to *Cape Barrow*, in latitude of 71 degrees 23 minutes, which is probably the northernmost point of America, and thence eastward for more than a thousand miles, though not continuously to the Atlantic; no vessel has, however, yet proceeded beyond Beering's Strait as far as Cape Barrow.

The southernmost point of the west coast of North America is *Cape San Lucas*, in latitude of 22 degrees 52 minutes, the extremity of the great *Peninsula of California*, which stretches from the American continent on the Pacific side, nearly in the same direction, and between nearly the same parallels of latitude as that of Florida on the Atlantic. The Californian peninsula joins the main land under the 33d parallel; south of which, it is separated from Mexico, on the east, by the long arm of the ocean called by the Spaniards the *Vermillion Sea* and the *Sea of Cortes*, but more generally known as the *Gulf of California*.

The coast extending between these two capes is not less than four thousand miles in length, and is bordered by a continuous line of mountains, which in most places overhang the sea, and are nowhere distant from it more than eighty miles. From Cape San Lucas the general direction of the shores is northwest as far as *Cape Mendocino*, near the 40th degree of latitude; thence it runs almost due north to *Cape Flattery*, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 48th degree, where it makes an angle by turning to the east. South of Cape Flattery the coast is comparatively regular and free from great sinuosities, and there are only a few islands, all of which are small, in its vicinity; northward of that point, to *Cape Spenser* near the 58th degree, it is, on the contrary, indented by numerous bays and inlets penetrating the land, and it is completely masked by islands separated from each other and from the continent by narrow and intricate channels. These islands compose the *Northwest Archipelago*; they lie together in a recess of the continental coast between Cape Flattery and Cape Spenser, in length about seven hundred miles, and in breadth about one hundred and twenty; and they are, indeed, simply a continuation, through the sea, of the mountain-chain which forms the westernmost rampart of America. Beyond Cape Spenser the American coast makes a bend, running northwest to the foot of *Mount Saint Elias*, the loftiest peak on the continent, and the most striking landmark on its western shore; thence westward nearly in the course of the 60th parallel, and then southwest to the extremity of the *Peninsula of Aliaska*, in 54 degrees 40 minutes, around which it again turns to the north, and continues in that course to Cape Prince of Wales. Aliaska is, like California, formed by the projection of a lofty mountain-ridge into the Pacific; from its extremity, and as if in continuation of it, a chain of islands, called the *Aleutian Archipelago*, extends westward, across the sea, to the vicinity of the opposite Asiatic Peninsula of Kamschatka.

IV. Of the northwesternmost division of the American coast, extending from Cape Prince of Wales, southward, to the extremity of Aliaska, little need be said. The part of the Pacific north of the Aleutian Islands, which bathes those shores, is commonly distinguished as the *Sea of Kamschatka*, and sometimes as *Beering's Sea*, in honor of the Russian navigator of that name who first explored it. From this sea several arms run up into the main land of America, of which the largest are *Norton Sound*, on the south side of the peninsula terminated by Cape Prince of Wales, and *Bristol Bay*, called by the Russians *Kamischezgaia Gulf*, on the northwest side of Aliaska. The upper part of Bristol Bay receives the waters of a large lake called *Lake Shellikof;* a little west of the outlet of which, on the shore of the bay, stands the small Russian factory, or fur-trading establishment, of *Alexandrowsk*, the only spot on this whole coast occupied by civilized persons.

The *Aleutian Archipelago* is considered by the Russians as consisting of *three groups* of islands. Nearest Aliaska are the *Fox Islands*, of which the largest are *Unimak*, *Unalashka*, and *Umnak;* next to these are the *Andreanowsky Islands*, among which are *Atscha*, *Tonaga*, and *Kanaga*, with many smaller islands, sometimes called the *Rat Islands;* the most western group is that first called the *Aleutian* or *Aleoutsky Islands*, which are *Attou*, *Mednoi*, (or *Copper Island*,) and *Beering's Island.* On the latter Beering was wrecked and lost his life in 1741. These islands are nearly all, like Aliaska, rocky, mountainous, and volcanic; they are of little value in an agricultural point of view, but the Russians derive great advantage from the skins and furs of animals in and about their shores, for procuring which they have several establishments in the Archipelago, particularly on Unalashka. The original inhabitants are a hardy and bold race, whom the Russians had great difficulty in subduing; these people are, however, at the present day, employed by their masters in fishing and hunting for furs in every part of the Pacific, and they compose a large proportion of the population of all the Russian settlements in America. There are other islands in the Sea of Kamschatka, of which the largest are *Nuniwak*, near the American shore, under the 60th parallel, and *Saint Lawrence* or *Clerke's Island*, at the entrance of Beering's Strait.

V. *Kamschatka* is a large peninsula formed of volcanic mountains, extending from the Asiatic continent southward to the latitude of 52 degrees 10 minutes, under which its southernmost point, *Cape Lopatka*, is situated. West of the peninsula, between it and the main land of Asia, is the *Sea of Ochotsk*, which is separated from the Pacific on the southeast by the *Kurile Islands*, extending southwest from Kamschatka towards Japan. The principal place in Kamschatka is *Petro-Paulowsk*, or the *Harbor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul*, on the *Bay of Avatscha*, in latitude of 53 degrees 58 minutes; it is a small town, the inhabitants of which are all engaged directly or indirectly in the fur trade.

VI. The next natural division of the coast is that included in the great bend between the south-west extremity of Aliaska and Cape Spenser. Here are to be remarked two deep gulfs, extending northward into the continent to the 62d degree, through each of which it was for some time hoped that a passage would be discovered communicating with the Atlantic. The westernmost of these gulfs was originally called *Cook's River*, but is now generally named on English maps *Cook's Inlet*, and is known by the Russians as the *Gulf of Kenay;* the other, which is only separated from the former by a peninsula, received from the British navigators the appellation of *Prince William's Sound*, and is distinguished by the Russians as the *Bay of Tschugatsch;* it is unnecessary here to say more of them than that they contain many islands, and that the Russians have several factories on the shores of each. Further eastward are *Comptroller's Bay* and *Admiralty*, or *Beering's*, or *Mulgrave*, or *Yakutat Bay*, where it is generally believed that Beering first landed in America in 1741. In the reports of Beering's voyage, it is stated that the mouth of a large and rapid river was found on this part of the coast; none such, however, has been discovered, though a considerable stream called by the Russians *Reca Mednaia*, (or *Copper River*,) empties into Comptroller's Bay at some distance from the ocean.

On this coast are several islands, of which the most extensive is *Kodiak*, at the entrance of Cook's Inlet, separated from Aliaska on the west by the *Strait of Shellikof;* its surface is rugged and mountainous, and it is indented by many deep bays, on one of which, called the *Gulf of Chiniatskoy*, on the east side of the island, is situated *Saint Paul*, one of the largest Russian settlements in America. South of Kodiak, near the southern extremity of Aliaska, are the *Schumagin Islands*, called after a seaman of Beering's ship, who died and was buried on one of them. *Mount Saint Elias* is on the northeast side of the bend, nearly under the 60th parallel of latitude; its height is estimated at seventeen thousand feet, and that of *Mount Fairweather*, a little farther south, at fourteen thousand. They are both volcanic, as are nearly all the mountains in this part of America.

The region bounded on the west and south by the divisions of the American coast above described is believed to be a frozen waste, traversed in all directions by mountains, and utterly incapable of affording a support to a population except in the immediate vicinity of the ocean. It is used by the Russians only for the purposes of the fur trade, which is carried on at the cost of a dreadful sacrifice of comfort and of life; and, as the animals yielding furs are daily diminishing in number, this part of the world must, no doubt, ere long be abandoned by all civilized persons.

VII. The *Northwest Archipelago* is contained, as already stated, in a recess of the coast of the continent, between the 48th and the 58th parallels, (between which also extend the islands of Great Britain and Ireland on the western side of Europe.) This Archipelago was first minutely examined by British navigators, who have bestowed on the islands names derived almost exclusively from the lists of the royal family, the ministry, the parliament, the peerage, the army, and the navy of Great Britain; none of which names are, however, or probably will be at any future period, used by the occupants of the islands. To present all these names would be a tedious and useless labor; and little more will be attempted than to afford some idea of the principal groups.

King George the Third's Islands are the most northwestern; the two largest of these are, respectively, called by the Russians who occupy them *Chichagoff's* and *Baranoff's Islands*. Near the western side of the latter, and divided from it by a narrow strait, is a small island, in the middle of which rises a beautiful conical peak, named by the Spaniards in 1775, *Mount San Jacinto*, and by the English under Cook, three years afterwards, *Mount Edgecumb*. On the southeast side of this strait, called by the Spaniards *Port Remedios*, by the British *Norfolk Sound*, and by the Russians the *Gulf of Sitca*, stands *Sitca*, or *New Archangel*, the capital of all the Russian possessions in America. It was established on its present site in 1804; and, by the most recent accounts, it contains about a thousand inhabitants, more than three-fourths of whom are Aleutians. The fort mounts sixteen short eighteen-pounders, and ten long nine-pounders, and is garrisoned by about three hundred persons. The *Admiralty Islands* are between the first described group and the main land, being separated from the former by the *Chatham Canal*, and from the latter by *Stephen's Passage*. The part of the sea between these two groups and the continent on the north is called *Cross Sound*, from which the *Lynn Canal*, an extensive bay, stretches northward behind Mount Fairweather. South of the King George's and the Admiralty Islands are the groups of the *Duke of York*, the *Prince of Wales*, and *Revillagigedo*, (the last called after a Viceroy of Mexico,) between which are *Prince Frederick's Sound*, the *Duke of Clarence's Strait*, and other passages.

All the islands above mentioned are north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, which is the latitude of the southernmost point of the Prince of Wales's Islands, and are therefore all, with the coasts of the continent in their vicinity, among the territories on which the Russians claim the exclusive right of making settlements, in virtue of their treaties with the United States and Great Britain, as before stated at page 3.

Between the 52d and 54th parallels, extends a large island, of triangular shape, which will be found on the map, bearing the name of *Queen Charlotte's*, or *Washington's Island*. Its western coast was discovered by the Spaniards in 1774; from which time to 1787 it was considered, like all the other islands of the Archipelago, as forming part of the continent. In the last mentioned year, Captain Dixon, commanding the merchant ship Queen Charlotte, of London, becoming convinced that it was an insulated territory, bestowed on it the name of his vessel; but it was first circumnavigated in the summer of 1789, by Captain Gray, in the sloop Washington, of Boston, who, without knowing any thing of Dixon's voyage, called the country *Washington's Island*. It was the favorite resort of the early American fur-traders in the north Pacific; and the manuscript Journal of Captain Ingraham, who commanded the brig Hope, of Boston, in that sea, from 1791 to 1793, contains minute descriptions and charts of several ports, particularly on its eastern side, which are not noticed in any published accounts or maps. The limits of this sketch do not admit of minute descriptions, or many interesting facts relative to the island in question might be related on the authority of Ingraham. He describes the soil and climate as being well adapted for agricultural purposes, particularly in the vicinity of *Cummashawah Bay*, a fine harbor on the east coast, in latitude of 53 degrees 3 minutes; and of *Hancock's River*, on the north side, called by the Spaniards *Port Estrada*, which was after it had been surveyed and named by the captain of the brig Hancock, from Boston.

Pitt's, *Burke's*, and the *Princess Royal* groups, are composed of many small islands, situated very near the continent, east of Queen Charlotte's islands. On one of these, called Dundas island, the British *Hudson's Bay Company* have a trading-post.

The largest and southernmost island in the northwest Archipelago, is that called *Quadra and Vancouver's Island*, extending, in its greatest length, from northwest to southeast about 200 miles, between the parallels of 48½ and 51 degrees, and separated from the continent on the south and east by the arm of the sea called the *Strait of Fuca*. The spot on this island most worthy of note is *Nootka Sound*, an extensive bay communicating with the Pacific in latitude of 49 degrees 34 minutes, and affording excellent harbors for vessels in many places, particularly in *Friendly Cove*, on the north side, about ten miles from the ocean. This place was for many years the chief rendezvous of the fur-traders on the northwest coast; and some of the most important events in the history of that part of the world occurred there, as may be seen in the 6th and 7th chapters of this memoir. The name of *Nootka* was first applied by Cook, who believed it to be that employed by the natives; no word has, however, since been found in use among them more nearly resembling Nootka than *Yuquotl*, their name for Friendly Cove. A few miles southeast from Nootka is another bay called *Clyoquot;* and further in the same direction, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, is a third called *Nittinat*, in which are many islands.

The *Strait of Fuca* extends between the island last described and the continent, from Cape Flattery, directly eastward, about one hundred and twenty miles, and thence northwest about two hundred and fifty miles, communicating with the ocean in the north through an entrance, called by the Americans *Pintard's*, and by the British *Queen Charlotte's Sound.* The southern part of the strait is about forty miles in width; the part running northeast is in some places nearly as wide, but generally much narrower, and is filled with islands. This passage was discovered, in 1592, by Juan de Fuca, a Greek pilot, who declared that he had sailed through it into the Atlantic; his statement was, however, disproved in 1792 by Vancouver, Galiano, and Valdes, who surveyed it together, and determined that it was only a great sound. The island which it separates from the continent, in that year received its present long and inconvenient appellation, by agreement between Vancouver and the Spanish commandant, Quadra.

VIII. The parts of the continent contiguous to these islands have received from British navigators many names, such as *New Norfolk*, *New Cornwall*, *New Hanover*, *and New Georgia;* all of which have become obsolete. The country north of the 58th parallel is almost unknown. Two large rivers, the *Peace River* and the *Turnagain*, flow from it eastward through the Rocky Mountains into the *Mackenzie*, which empties into the Arctic Sea; another river, called the *Stikine*, has also been lately discovered entering the Pacific east of Duke of York's Island, in latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes, which is said to be three miles wide at its mouth and one mile wide thirty miles higher up.

The country on the Pacific, between the 49th and 58th parallels, is usually distinguished by the British fur-traders as *New Caledonia;* and, from all accounts, it resembles the northern part of Scotland in its ruggedness, its lakes, and its barrenness. Its principal lakes are *Stuart's*, *Babine*, and *Frazer's Lakes*, all situated between the 54th and the 56th parallels. Babine Lake communicates with the Pacific by a large stream called *Simpson's River;* Frazer's and Stuart's Lakes are head-waters of *Frazer's River*, which flows from them nearly due south about four hundred miles, and enters the ocean in latitude of 49 degrees. The soil of New Caledonia is everywhere steril, very small portions only being fit for cultivation; and the climate, though much milder than that of the other countries of America between the same latitudes, is generally too severe for the production of the esculent grains and vegetables. The British Hudson's

Bay Company have several establishments for carrying on the fur trade in this country, of which the principal are *Fort Alexandria*, on Frazer's River, about three hundred miles from the sea, and *Fort Langly*, at the mouth of the same stream. From these, and other ports in New Caledonia, communications are maintained with Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia, by way of the rivers, and by steam and sail-vessels on the sea.

The *coast of Oregon* extends from the Strait of Fuca to Cape Mendocino: it will be hereafter particularly described.

IX. *Cape Mendocino* presents two points running out into the ocean, about ten miles apart, of which the southernmost, in latitude of 40 degrees 19 minutes, is the highest and the most prominent.

From it the *coast of California* extends southeastward, about one thousand four hundred miles, to Cape San Lucas. On this coast are several harbors, of which the principal will be described.

Port Bodega, communicating with the Pacific in latitude of 38 degrees 19 minutes, is supposed to be the harbor in which Drake lay with his vessel in 1579. Here the Russians made their first settlement in California in 1812. Their chief establishment at present is *Ross*, immediately on the ocean, about thirty miles farther north; it contains about four hundred inhabitants, and from it the northern factories receive their supplies of provisions.

Port San Francisco joins the Pacific, by a passage about two miles wide, under the parallel of 37 degrees 55 minutes. At a short distance from the sea it expands into a large bay, offering, as admitted by all the navigators who have visited it, one of the finest harbors in the world, and possessing every requisite for a great naval establishment. It receives two rivers, the *Jesus Maria* and the *Sacramento*, at its northern extremity, and another called the *San Joaquin* from the south. The Sacramento is navigable for small vessels to the distance of eighty miles from its mouth, beyond which little is known about its course; it is believed, however, to rise in the northeast angle of California, near the junction of the Snowy Mountains with the Rocky Mountains. This bay is much frequented by British and American whaling vessels, and it is, no doubt, destined to be the centre of an extensive commerce. Particular accounts of its numerous advantages may be found in the Journal of the Voyage made by Captain Beechey through the North Pacific in the years 1824–'25.

Monterey Bay is contained in a semicircular recess of the coast, opening westward, about twenty miles in width, between its northern point, *Cape Ano Nuevo* and *Cape Pinos* on the south. Just within Cape Pinos there is good anchorage for vessels, where they are protected from the prevailing northwest winds, and are only in danger from the violent gusts which sometimes blow from the southeast along the whole Californian coast.

Port San Diego, in latitude of 32 degrees 51 minutes, near which the Spaniards planted their first colony on the west coast of California in 1769, is a long arm of the sea, extending southeast from its mouth into the land, and defended against the billows by a sand-ridge.

The *Bay of San Jose*, near the 23d degree, immediately east of Cape San Lucas, at the southernmost part of the peninsula, is probably the same in which the Spaniards first anchored when California was discovered by them in 1535, and which received from Cortes the name of *Port Santa Cruz*. It is one of the places where the pearl-fishery has been most successful.

Near the Californian coast are many small settlements, which were originally established by missionaries of the Franciscan order from Mexico, and were intended chiefly for the purpose of civilizing and converting the natives. During the subsistence of the Spanish authority, these missions were fostered by the Government, and were maintained by means of supplies sent from Mexico; but, since the downfall of that Power, they have not only received little assistance from Mexico, but have, moreover, been taxed for the support of the republic, of which the Indian neophytes were declared to be citizens. These Indians are, however, unfortunately, among the most indolent and unintellectual of the human family; incapable of being affected by any other considerations than those addressed to their present and immediate hopes and fears. The missionaries treated them as children; and those who have been removed from under the care and authority of these priests have uniformly sunk at once into misery and vice. The Mexican population is little, if at all, better than the aboriginal; the soldiers and colonists sent there being generally criminals banished to this—the Botany Bay of the republic.

There is no rain on the coast of California from March to November; during the other months the rains are generally incessant, though in some years very little falls. The dews in summer are, however, so heavy as to prevent the destruction of vegetation. Near the sea, the temperature is at all times salubrious and agreeable, the heat of the sun in summer being moderated by constant breezes; but farther inland it is said to be most oppressive. Agriculture has been, as yet, little practised in this country; the inhabitants subsisting almost entirely on the meat of the wild cattle which cover the plains. The soil and climate appear to be favorable to the growth of every vegetable substance necessary for the subsistence and enjoyment of man; but no large portion of the territory will probably be found productive without artificial irrigation.

Of the interior of California little is known. The northern part, or continental portion, called *New California*, is said to be traversed by mountain-ridges, between which are extensive plains; some covered with grass, forming prairies, others sandy and destitute of vegetation, and others again being marshes. It appears to be certain that very little of the water which falls on this country from the clouds finds its way directly to the sea; as the line of mountains which borders the coast is traversed only by a few inconsiderable streams, besides those emptying into the Bay of San Francisco.

The peninsula, or *Old California*, is about seven hundred miles in length, and one hundred and thirty in breadth where it joins the continent, under the 33d parallel; further south its breadth is less, not exceeding fifty miles in some places. The whole territory consists of mountains; its climate is hot and dry, the soil is barren, and the inhabitants are few and miserable, deriving their support almost exclusively from the sea.

The *Gulf of California*, or *Sea of Cortes*, or *Vermillion Sea*, which separates the peninsula from the main land of Mexico on the east, is about seven hundred miles in length, varying in breadth from sixty to one hundred and twenty. At its northern extremity it receives two large rivers—the Gila, flowing from the east; and the Colorado, which rises in the north among the Rocky Mountains, about the 40th degree of latitude, near the sources of the Lewis, the Platte, the Arkansas, and the Rio del Norte. The northern part of the territory, on the eastern side of the gulf, is called *Sonora*, and the southern part *Sinaloa*; they together form one department of the Mexican republic. The harbor of *Guaymas* in Sonora, near the 28th degree of latitude, is said to be one of the best in America, and the town has a large and increasing trade; at the entrance of the gulf, on its eastern side, is another rising commercial place, called *Mazatlan;* and farther south is *San Blas*, among the principal ports of Mexico on the Pacific. The old Mexican towns of *Culiacan*, on the river of the same name a little north of Mazatlan, and *Chiametla*, between the latter place and San Blas, are now nearly deserted.

X. We next proceed to take a—

GENERAL VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAIN-CHAINS OF NORTH AMERICA.

It has been already said, that the whole western coast of North America is bounded by a continuous chain of mountains; and it may now be added, that the whole interior of the continent, to a considerable distance from the Pacific, is traversed by lofty ridges, separated from each other by valleys or plains of small extent. Of these interior ridges, the principal in every respect is that known by the general name of the *Rocky Mountains*, forming the northern portion of the great chain of highlands which stretches from the Arctic Sea to the Strait of Magellan, dividing, except in a few places, the territories drained by streams flowing into the Atlantic, from those whose waters enter the Pacific. Throughout its whole course, this chain lies nearer to the western shores of the continent than to the eastern, and therefore much the greater quantity of the water which America supplies to the ocean is discharged into the Atlantic.

The general course of the Rocky Mountain ridge is from north-northwest to south-southeast. Between the 58th degree of latitude and the 48th, it is nearly parallel to the Pacific coast, from which its distance is about five hundred miles; from the 48th degree to the 40th, the coast runs due south, so that the distance between it and the ridge is constantly increasing, and on the 40th parallel exceeds seven hundred miles. The name of Rocky Mountains is not applied to any part of the chain south of the last-mentioned latitude; the parts north of the 50th degree are sometimes called the *Chipewyan Mountains*.

The highest points in the Rocky Mountains, and probably in North America, if not in the whole western continent, are those about the 52d degree of latitude, near the northernmost sources of the Columbia river. Mr. Thompson, the astronomer of the Hudson's Bay Trading Company, has measured several of these peaks, of which, one called *Mount Brown* is estimated by him at sixteen thousand feet, and another, *Mount Hooker*, at fifteen thousand seven hundred feet above the ocean level. It has been stated that the same gentleman has recently found other points farther north, which he considers to be more than ten thousand feet higher than either of those above mentioned. About the 42d parallel are also many lofty peaks, particularly among the *Wind-river Mountains*, a spur or offset, which extends southeast from the main chain, and from which flow many of the head-waters of the Missouri and the Yellow Stone Rivers. North of the 56th degree the ridge diminishes in height, and near the Arctic Sea it is only a line of hills.

Near the 42d degree of latitude, three other extensive ridges are united to the Rocky Mountains; one on its eastern side, running towards the

Mexican Gulf, and forming the eastern wall of a great valley or basin, through which flows the river *Bravo del Norte;* another, stretching southwest to and through the peninsula of California, between which and the Rocky Mountains is a vast region, drained principally by the rivers *Colorado* and *Gila*, emptying into the northern extremity of the Californian Gulf; the third ridge is that commonly called the *Snowy Mountains*, running westward to the Pacific, in which it terminates at Cape Mendocino, and completely separating Oregon, or the country of the Columbia, on the north, from California on its southern side. From the place of union of these chains also flow the head-waters of the Bravo, emptying into the Mexican Gulf—of the Colorado—of the Lewis, the principal southern branch of the Columbia which falls into the Pacific—and of the Missouri, the Yellow Stone, the Platte, and the Arkansas, all of which are discharged into the Mississippi.

Near the place of union of these chains is a remarkable depression of the Rocky Mountains, called the *Southern Pass*, affording a short and easy route for carriages between the head-waters of the south branch of the Platte, on the east, and those of the Colorado, on the west; from which latter, is another pass through the mountains, northward, to the Lewis River. There are other depressions of the great chain farther north, between the Yellow Stone, on the one side, and the Salmon River and Flathead branches of the Columbia, on the other; but they offer much greater difficulties to the traveller than the Southern Pass, which is, and will probably continue to be, the principal avenue of communication between the United States and the territories of the Far West.

In latitude of 53 is the great cleft, from which the Columbia flows, on one side, to the Pacific, and the Athabasca, on the other, to the Mackenzie emptying into the Arctic Ocean. Farther north, the Peace and the Turnagain Rivers, which rise near the Pacific, pass through the Rocky Mountains into the Mackenzie.

Respecting the *Snowy Mountains*, very little exact information has been obtained. They appear to run in an unbroken line, from Cape Mendocino to the Rocky Mountains, between the 39th and the 42d parallels of latitude, and to be united with the other ridges extending northward and southward. Whether they are to be considered as a distinct chain, or as formed by the union of branches from the others, is a question interesting only to the geologist; certain it is, that they present a complete barrier between California and the country of the Columbia.

XI. The remainder of this sketch will be devoted entirely to the consideration of—

OREGON, OR THE COUNTRY OF THE COLUMBIA.

Oregon, considered as *comprehending the territory drained by the Columbia river*, together with the seacoasts of that territory, lies within the following natural boundaries: *on the east*, the Rocky Mountains, extending about nine hundred miles, from the 54th parallel to the 41st; *on the south*, the Snowy Mountains, in their whole length about seven hundred miles, from the Rocky Mountains to Cape Mendocino, on the Pacific, near the 40th degree of latitude; *on the west*, the Pacific Ocean, from Cape Mendocino, about five hundred miles due north, to Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca, near the 48th degree of latitude; and *on* *the north*, the Strait of Fuca, from Cape Flattery, about one hundred and twenty miles eastward, and thence by a line running northeast, along the summit of the highlands separating the waters of the Columbia from those of Frazer's River, to the Rocky Mountains, which it would reach about the 54th degree of latitude. Such are the natural boundaries of the territory drained by the Columbia, the surface of which may be estimated at about three hundred and fifty thousand square miles.

The *coast of Oregon on the Strait of Fuca* is about one hundred and twenty miles in length, eastward from *Cape Flattery*, where the strait joins the Pacific under the parallel of 48 degrees 23 minutes. The shores are composed of low sandy cliffs, overhanging beaches of sand or stones; from them the land ascends gradually to the foot of the mountains, which rise abruptly to a great height within a few miles of the sea. The only harbor immediately on the strait is *Port Discovery*, situated near the southeast angle, which Vancouver pronounces perfectly safe and convenient for ships of any size; it runs southward from the strait into the land, and is defended from the violence of the waves by *Protection Island*, which stretches partly across its entrance on the north. A few miles farther east a long arm of the sea, called *Admiralty Inlet*, penetrates the continent, southward from the strait, more than one hundred miles, terminating near the 47th degree of latitude in a bay named by Vancouver *Puget's Sound*; *Hood's Canal* is a branch of this inlet, extending southwestward, and many smaller branches are given off on each side. The country surrounding Admiralty Inlet is described by Vancouver as beautiful, fertile, and in every respect agreeable; and the bay, with its numerous arms stretching into the interior, must offer great advantages for commercial intercourse hereafter. The Hudson's Bay Company has trading-posts on these waters, of which the principal is *Fort Nasqually*, at the southernmost part of Puget's Sound.

On the Pacific, the coast of Oregon extends five hundred miles in a line nearly straight from north to south, presenting in its whole length but two places of refuge for vessels. The northernmost of these is *Bulfinch's* or *Gray's Bay*, discovered in May, 1792, by Captain Robert Gray, of Boston; it is situated in latitude of 46 degrees 58 minutes, and offers a secure anchorage for small vessels, sheltered from the sea by sandy spits and bars. "It appears to be of little importance as a port, in its natural state," says Vancouver, "as it affords but two or three situations where boats can approach sufficiently near the shore to effect a landing;" yet should the country become settled, this and other disadvantages may, perhaps, be corrected by artificial means. The other harbor is the *mouth of the River Columbia*, about thirty miles south of the former, which was also discovered by Captain Gray, and received from him the name of his ship; it will be described particularly hereafter. *Port Trinidad*, so called by the Spaniards who anchored there in 1775, is an open roadstead in latitude 41 degrees 3 minutes, entirely unprotected from the ocean, and, according to Vancouver, unworthy to be called a harbor. Several small rivers fall into the Pacific south of the Columbia, of which the principal are the *Klamet* and the *Umqua*, both discharging their waters near the 43d parallel. Vessels drawing not more than eight feet water may enter the Umqua; at the mouth of which the Hudson's Bay Company have a trading-factory.

On this coast are several capes; none of which, however, project far into the ocean. The most remarkable is *Cape Blanco*, discovered by the Spanish navigator Aguilar in 1803, and named by Vancouver in 1792 *Cape Orford*; it lies nearly under the 43d parallel, and is the extremity of a line of highlands which separates the valley of the Umqua, on the north, from the Klamet, on the south. The only island between Cape Flattery and Cape Mendocino, which has been thought worthy of a name, is one close to the continent, near the latitude of 47½ degrees, called by the Spaniards *Isla de Dolores*, or *Isle of Grief*, in commemoration of the murder of some of their men on the contiguous main land; it afterwards received the appellation of *Destruction Island*, from a similar loss there sustained by a British vessel in 1787.

XII. The *territory drained by the Columbia* presents a constant succession of mountain-ridges and valleys, or plains of small extent. The principal ridges are two in number, besides the Rocky Mountains, running nearly parallel to each other and to the coasts; and the country is thus divided into three great regions, which differ materially in climate, soil, and productive powers. The *first region*, or *low country*, is that between the coast and the chain of mountains nearest to the sea; the *second region* is between the mountains nearest the sea and the middle ridge, called the Blue Mountains; and the *third region*, or *high country*, is between the Blue Mountains and the Rocky Mountains. All these divisions are crossed by the Columbia, the main stream of which is formed in the middle region, by the union of several branches flowing from the Rocky Mountains, and receiving in their course supplies from innumerable smaller tributaries draining the intermediate countries.

The chain of mountains running nearest the Pacific, southward from the Strait of Fuca, has received many names, no one of which appears to have been generally adopted. It is called the *California Mountains*; the *Klamet Mountains*, from the Indian nation which occupies a part of the territory on its western side; and the *Cascade Mountains*, from the cascades or cataracts formed by the Columbia, in passing through the ridge. Mr. Kelly, a patriotic American citizen, has proposed to call it the *President Range*, and has accordingly assigned to the seven highest peaks, respectively, the names of the Chief Magistrates of the United States, from Washington to Jackson, in succession.* These mountains are of considerable elevation, and many of their summits are visible from a great distance at sea, especially the most northern, called *Mount Olympus*, near Cape Flattery. Mr. Wyeth speaks thus rapturously of the view of them from the top of one of the Blue Mountains: "The traveller going west, sees the high points of the California Mountains, about one hundred and sixty miles distant, some of which rise about sixteen thousand feet above the level of the Pacific. All other views in America sink into littleness in comparison with this. From one spot, I have seen seven of the high points of this range, extending from north to south, their perfect whiteness and steep conical shape causing them to appear like huge sugar-loaves."*

---

* Kelly's *Mount Washington* is the same called by Vancouver *Mount Hood*, rising due east of the mouth of the Columbia, at the distance of about one hundred miles; *Mount Adams* is the *Mount St. Helen's*, of the same navigator, under the 45th parallel; *Mount Jefferson* received that name from Lewis and Clarke, in 1806; it is the lofty peak in latitude of 44½ degrees, which the British fur-traders have thought proper to call *Mount Vancouver*; *Mount Madison* is the *Mount Maclaughlin* of the British maps; *Mount Monroe* is in latitude of 43 degrees 20 minutes; *Mount John Quincy Adams* is in 42 degrees 10 minutes; *Mount Jackson* is a stupendous pinnacle, under the parallel of 41 degrees 40 minutes, called by the British *Mount Pitt*.

The distance from the coast to the foot of this chain is in some places one hundred miles, in others much less. The intervening country is crossed in various directions by low ridges connected with the principal chain, some of which run parallel to it, while others stretch towards the ocean. Between these ridges are valleys, of which the two most extensive lie immediately at the base of the great chain, and are drained by rivers flowing into the Columbia; the waters from the others falling directly into the Pacific. Of the two rivers which empty into the Columbia, the northern, called the *Cowilitz*, has been imperfectly examined, and little has been reported concerning it. The southern, described by Lewis and Clarke as the *Multonomah*, but now more generally known as the *Wallamet*, has been traced more than two hundred miles due south, from its entrance into the Columbia, through a valley which is said to be the most delightful and fertile part of Northwest America.

The climate of this region is more favorable to agriculture than those of the other parts of Oregon, although it is certainly adverse to great productiveness. The summer is warm and very dry. From April to October, while the westerly winds prevail, rain seldom falls in any part of Oregon; during the other months, when the south wind blows constantly, the rains are almost incessant in the lower region, although sometimes the dry season there continues longer. Farther from the Pacific, the rains are less frequent and abundant; and near the Rocky Mountains, they are reduced to a few showers in the spring. In the valleys of the low country snow is rarely seen, and the ground is not often frozen, so that ploughing may generally be carried on during the whole winter. In 1834 the Columbia was frozen for thirteen days, but this was principally in consequence of the accumulation of ice from above. "This country," says Mr. Wyeth, "is well calculated for wheat, barley, oats, rye, pease, apples, potatoes, and all the roots cultivated in the northern States of the Union; Indian corn does not succeed well, and is an unprofitable crop. The yield of wheat, with very poor cultivation, is about fifteen bushels of the best quality to the acre. Horses and neat cattle succeed tolerably well; the winter being mild, they are enabled to subsist upon the produce of the open fields. Hogs live and multiply, but cannot be made fat on the range of the country. The agriculture of this region must always suffer from the extreme dryness of the summer. The products which ripen earliest sustain the least damage, but those which come late are often injured."

Of the soil of this region, the same acute observer says: "The uplands are tolerably good, but the cost of clearing the enormous growth of timber on them would be beyond their worth; it is too thick and heavy to allow of crops being obtained by girdling the trees; and it must be removed or burnt, the labor of which is beyond the conception of those acquainted only with the forests of the United States. There are, however, prairies sufficiently numerous and extensive for the cultivation of the next century, which, being chiefly on the second bottoms of rivers, are extremely fertile, and above inundation." The forests in this part of

---

* Letter from Nath. Wyeth, in the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the Oregon Territory, presented February 16, 1838. See page 196 of this memoir.

America are, from all accounts, magnificent. Ross Cox describes a fir growing near Fort George, or Astoria, on the Columbia, about eight miles from the sea, which measured forty-six feet in circumference at ten feet from the ground, one hundred and fifty-three feet in length before giving off a branch, and not less than three hundred feet in its whole height. Another tree, of the same species, is said to be standing on the banks of the Umqua, the trunk of which is fifty-seven feet in circumference, and two hundred and sixteen feet in length, below its branches. Cox adds, that "prime sound pines, from two hundred to two hundred and eighty feet in height, and from twenty to forty feet in circumference, are by no means uncommon."

XIII. The *Blue Mountains* extend from north to south, though the whole territory of the Columbia, between the Rocky Mountains and the chain which borders the coast. Their course is not so regular or clearly defined as those of the other chains; and they appear to be broken into several ridges, some of which run towards the Rocky Mountains on the east, while others join the westernmost chain. These mountains are steep and rocky, generally volcanic, and some of them covered with eternal snow; they are crossed by both branches of the Columbia, which also receives several tributaries from the valleys on their western sides.

The *middle region of Oregon*, between the mountains nearest the coast on the west and the *Blue Mountains* on the east, is more elevated, more dry, and less fertile, than the *low country*. It consists chiefly of plains, between ridges of mountains, the soil of which is generally a yellow sandy clay, covered with grass, small shrubs, and prickly pears. Timber is very scarce; the trees, which are small, and of soft useless woods, such as cotton-wood, sumach, and willow, being only found in the neighborhood of the streams. The climate during the summer is universally represented as most agreeable and salubrious; the days are warm, and the nights cool; but the want of moisture in the air prevents the contrast of temperature from being injurious to the health. The rains begin later in the year, and end sooner, than in the lower country, and they are less constant and heavy. There is little snow in the southern valleys; farther north it is more common.

Few attempts at cultivation have been made in this region, and they have not been, upon the whole, successful. Wyeth conceives that "the agriculture of this territory must always be limited to the wants of a pastoral people, and to the immediate vicinity of the streams and mountains; and irrigation must be resorted to, if a large population is to be supported in it. This country, which affords little prospect for the tiller of the soil, is perhaps one of the best for grazing in the world. It has been much underrated by travellers who have only passed by the Columbia, the land along which is a collection of sand and rocks, and almost without vegetation; but a few miles from the Columbia, towards the hills and mountains, the prairies open wide, covered with a low grass of a most nutritious kind, which remains good throughout the year. In September there are slight rains, at which time the grass starts; and in October and November there is a good coat of green grass, which remains so until the ensuing summer; and about June it is ripe in the lower plains, and, drying without being wet, is like made hay; in this state it remains until the autumn rains again revive it. The herdsman in this extensive valley (of more than one hundred and fifty miles in width) could at all times keep his animals in good grass, by approaching the mountains in summer, on the declivities of which almost any climate may be had; and the dry grass of the country is at all times excellent. It is in this section of the country that all the horses are reared for the supply of the Indians and traders in the interior. It is not uncommon that one Indian owns some hundreds of them. I think this section, for producing hides, tallow, and beef, is superior to any part of North America; for, with equal facilities for raising the animals, the weather in winter, when the grass is best, and consequently the best time to fatten the animals, is cold enough to salt meat, which is not the case in Upper California. There is no question that sheep might be raised to any extent, in a climate so dry and sufficiently warm, where very little snow or rains falls. It is also, I think, the healthiest country I have ever been in, which, I suppose, arises from the small quantity of decaying vegetable matter, and there being no obstruction from timber to the passing winds."

XIV. The *third* and last natural division of Oregon is the *high country*, included between the Blue Mountains on the west and the Rocky Mountains on the east. The southern part of this region is a desert, of steep rocky mountains, deep narrow valleys, called *holes* by the fur-traders, and wide plains, covered with sand or gravel, generally volcanic, which can never be rendered capable of supporting more than a very small number of inhabitants. The distinguishing features of this territory are, *its extreme dryness*, and *the great difference in temperature between the day and the night.* It seldom rains, except during a few days in the spring; there is little snow in the valleys in winter, though a great deal falls occasionally on the mountain tops; and no moisture is deposited in dews. Mr. Wyeth saw the thermometer, on the banks of Snake River, in August, 1832, mark eighteen degrees of Fahrenheit at sunrise, and ninety-two degrees at noon of the same day; and he says that a difference of forty degrees between sunrise and noon is not uncommon. Such circumstances are alone sufficient to render any attempts at cultivation in this region entirely fruitless; and a great portion of the surface is moreover so strongly impregnated with salts of various kinds, that plants could not flourish in it, even were a sufficiency of heat and moisture regularly supplied.

In this region, nevertheless, are situated the sources of all the principal branches of the Columbia, the northernmost of which rises near the 54th parallel, and the southernmost near the 42d; they, of course, receive their waters from the mountains, as very little can be furnished by the valleys. There are also many lakes in this part of America, some of which communicate with the Columbia; the others have no outlets, and their waters are therefore necessarily salt.[*] The largest of these collections of salt water, is that called by the Indians *Lake Youta*, and represented on the old Spanish maps as *Lake Timpanogos*, situated in one of the valleys or hollows produced by the interlocking of the Snowy Mountains with the other chains, near the Rocky Mountains. Very little is known as to the extent and position of this lake, except that it is very large, that it is surrounded by high mountains, and that it receives on its northern side a considerable stream, called the *Bear River*. Captain Wyeth places its northern extremity in latitude of 42 degrees 3 minutes. In one of the maps attached to Mr. Irving's account of Captain Bonneville's Adventures in the Far West, that point is represented under the parallel of 42 degrees 50 minutes; while in the other map illustrating the same work, it is placed still farther north by half a degree. In the map annexed to this memoir, Lake Youta is made to extend from 40½ to 41½ degrees, on the authority of Arrowsmith; which position appears more conformable than any other with the best accounts.

---

[*] Whenever water runs on or through the earth, it finds salts, which it dissolves, and carries with itself to its recipient. If that recipient have no outlet either above or under the surface of the earth, by which it communicates with some lower recipient, and thus its waters are not taken from it except by evaporation, the salt carried into it by streams must necessarily be constantly accumulating there, as evaporation does not abstract a single saline particle. If the facts here stated be admitted as true, the deductions cannot be denied; and it is believed that no case can be cited in contradiction of either. In like manner, the surfaces of great plains or valleys, from which the water is not carried off either by streams or by infiltration, are always impregnated with salt. Of this, the high plains of Mexico, and the valleys immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, offer examples; the soil of the parts not regularly drained being so salt as to render vegetation impossible, even where all the other requisites are furnished in abundance. The reverse is not always true; nevertheless, the saltness of a *large* body of water, or of a *large* extent of ground, affords strong reasons for suspecting that there is no regular drain from it into a lower recipient.

The northern part of the upper region about the Clarke River is less barren than that which has been just described; the valleys are wider, the rains more frequent, and the soil is freed from salt by the numerous streams which traverse it.

The country east of the Rocky Mountains, for more than two hundred miles, is almost as dry and barren as that immediately on the western side; offering no means of support for a population, except in the vicinity of the rivers, which flow through it from the great chain into the Mississippi. The interposition of this wide desert-tract between the productive regions of the Mississippi and those of the Columbia, must retard the settlement of the latter countries, and exercise a powerful influence over their political destinies.

XV. The *Columbia River* now remains to be particularly noticed, and it will be traced from the sources of its principal confluents to the ocean.

The northernmost stream of the Columbia is *Canoe River*, which rises near the 54th degree of latitude, and near the 52d is joined by two other streams, at a place called by the fur-traders *Boat Encampment*. Of the two streams which join Canoe River, one flows from the south along the base of the Rocky Mountains; the other rises in a great gorge of that chain, under the parallel of 53 degrees, its head being a small lake, within a few feet of which is another, whence the waters run into the Athabasca, one of the branches of the Mackenzie. Of this gorge, Cox says: "The country around our encampment presented the wildest and most terrific appearance of desolation. The sun, shining on a range of stupendous glaciers, threw a chilling brightness over the chaotic mass of rocks, ice, and snow, by which we were environed. Close to our encampment, one gigantic mountain, of conical form, towered majestically into the clouds, far above the others; while at intervals, the interest of the scene was heightened by the rumbling noise of a descending avalanche." The ground about this spot is higher than any other in North America, and probably on the whole western continent.

After a course of about two hundred miles due south from the point of union of the three streams above mentioned, the Columbia receives *Macgillivray's River*, and a little lower down *Clarke's*, or the *Flathead River*, both flowing from the Rocky Mountains. Clarke's river is nearly as large as the Columbia, above the place of their junction; its sources are situated within a short distance of those of the Missouri, and, as the intervening ridge is not very high, it will doubtless form one of the great channels of communication between the eastern and the western sides of the continent. In its course it spreads out into a lake, about thirty-five miles long and five or six broad, which is situated in a rich valley, surrounded by lofty snow-clad mountains.

The Clarke rushes down into the Columbia, over a ledge of rocks, a little before the passage of the latter through the Blue Mountains, where it forms the *Kettle Falls*. Just below these falls, on the south side of the river, in latitude of 48 degrees 37 minutes, is situated *Fort Colville*, one of the principal establishments of the Hudson's Bay Company; the country around which is fertile and agreeable, producing wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, potatoes, peas, and various garden vegetables, in abundance. Thence the river flows due west, receiving in its course the *Spokan* from the southeast, about one hundred miles, to its junction with the *Okanagan*, a large stream from the north, where the Hudson's Bay Company have another fort, called *Fort Okanagan*. This place was first occupied by the Astoria, or Pacific Fur Company, in 1811; from it the Columbia runs south to the latitude of 46 degrees 8 minutes, and there joins the Lewis, or Snake, the great south branch of which will now be in like manner traced from its sources.

The head-waters of the Lewis River are in the angle formed by the Rocky and the Snowy Mountains, between the 42d and the 44th degrees, near the sources of the Colorado, the Platte, the Yellow Stone, and the Missouri. Thence it flows westward along the foot of the Snowy Mountains to the Blue Mountains, through one ridge of which it passes near the 43d degree of latitude, making there the *Salmon*, or *Fishing Falls*. It then runs northwestward to its junction with the Columbia, receiving on its way the *Malade*, the *Wapticacos*, or north branch, and the *Kooskooskee*, or *Salmon River*, from the east, and the *Malheur*, the *Burnt River*, and *Powder River* from the west, besides numerous smaller streams on each side. The Salmon River is believed to be that on and near which the party sent from the United States, in 1811, to form an establishment at the mouth of the Columbia, experienced the dreadful sufferings depicted by Mr. Irving in his Astoria.

The Columbia, below the junction of its two great branches, receives the *Walla-walla*, the *Umatalla*, *John Day's River*, and the *Falls River* from the south, and then passes through the range of mountains nearest the Pacific, under the 46th parallel of latitude. At the mouth of the Walla-walla is *Fort Walla-walla*, or *Nezpercés*, belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, near which is some land tolerably well adapted for cultivation. Below this river the Columbia descends considerably, forming many rapids before entering the mountains. The *Falls* are represented by Wyeth as impassable at low water, but passable at high water both up and down. Five miles below them are the *Dalles*, or narrows, where the river rushes through a space not more than one hundred and fifty feet wide, walled in by basaltic columns on both sides; and thirty-six miles lower, are the *Cascades*, which are falls impassable at all times. The tide comes up to the foot of the cascades, and the navigation is good for vessels drawing not more than fourteen feet to this point, which is one hundred and twenty-five miles from the ocean.

At the distance of about one hundred miles from the Pacific, on the north side of the Columbia, and a quarter of a mile from it, stands *Fort*

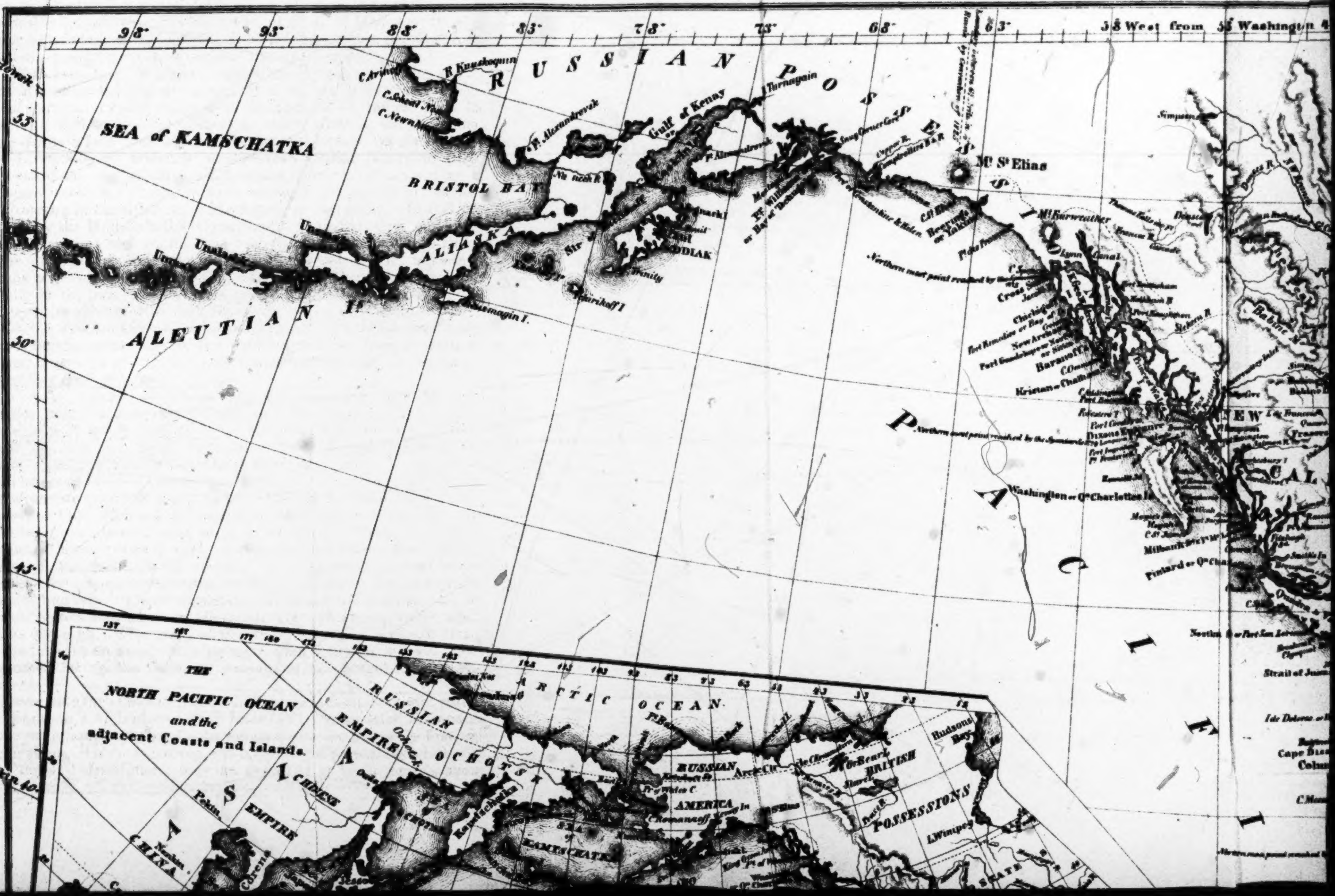
Vancouver, the principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains. It consists of a number of wooden buildings within a stockade, serving as dwelling-houses, stores, magazines, and workshops; and near it are other small buildings inhabited by the laborers, together with a saw-mill and grist-mill. The whole number of residents at the place is about eight hundred, of whom a large proportion are Indians or half-breeds. Several hundred acres of land near the fort are under cultivation, producing wheat, barley, oats, pease, potatoes, &c., in abundance; and the stock of cattle is also considerable.

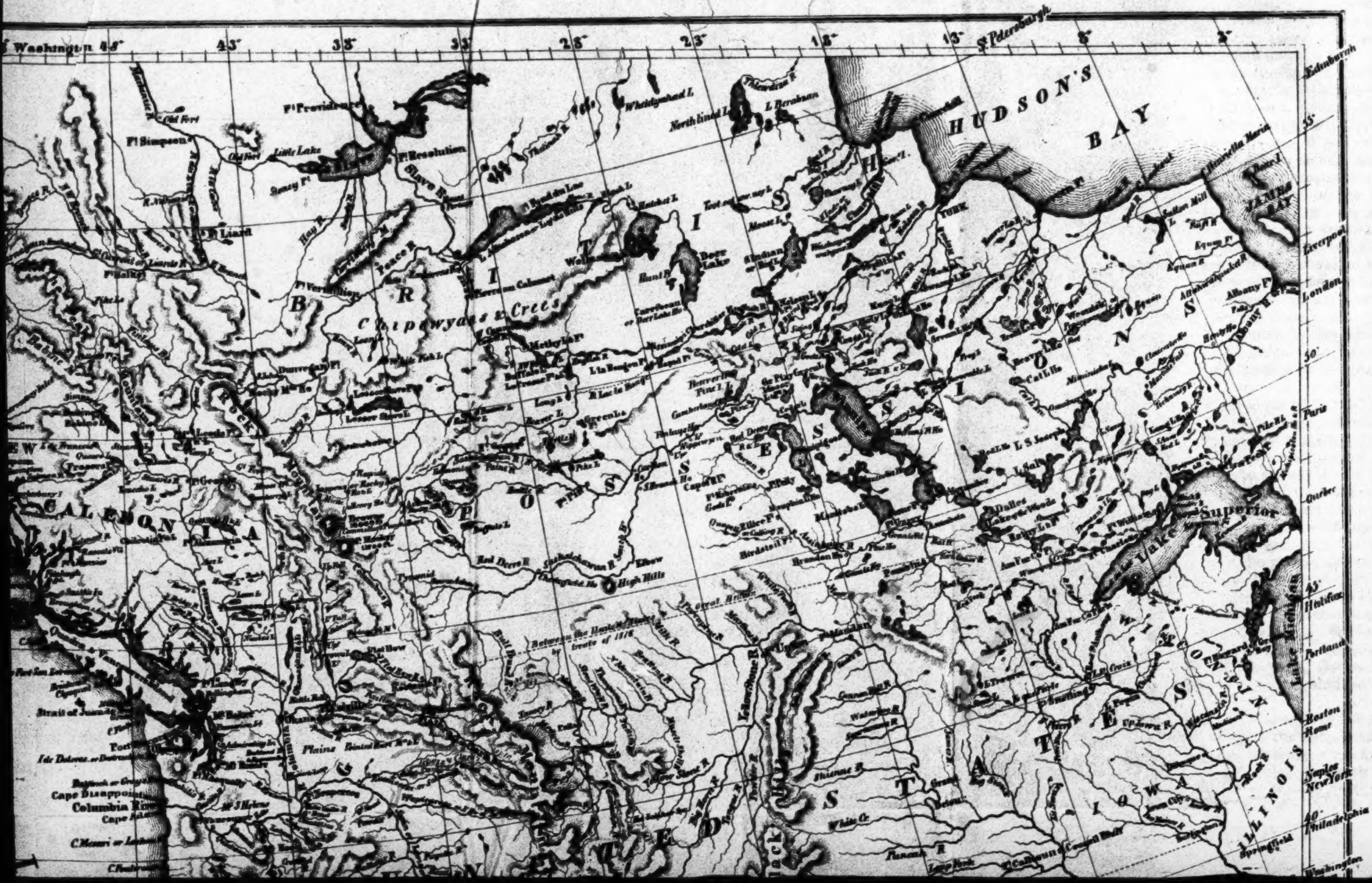
The *Multonomah*, or *Wallamet*, enters the Columbia in the south, about twenty miles below Vancouver. It is navigable for small vessels to the distance of twenty miles from its mouth—or, rather, from its mouths, for it divides into two branches before entering the Columbia, and thus forms a long narrow island, on which Captain Wyeth endeavored unsuccessfully to establish an American trading-factory in 1835. At the head of the navigation is a fall, where the river crosses a ridge of hills; before reaching which, it flows through prairies of the richest ground, varying in breadth from a few feet to several miles. In this delightful valley the Hudson's Bay Company have formed a settlement for its retiring servants; and another has been made by American citizens, under the direction of Methodist missionaries, which is said to be in a prosperous condition. A large body of emigrants to this place sailed from New York in the latter part of 1839; and other persons are said to be now in that city preparing for their departure for the same point.

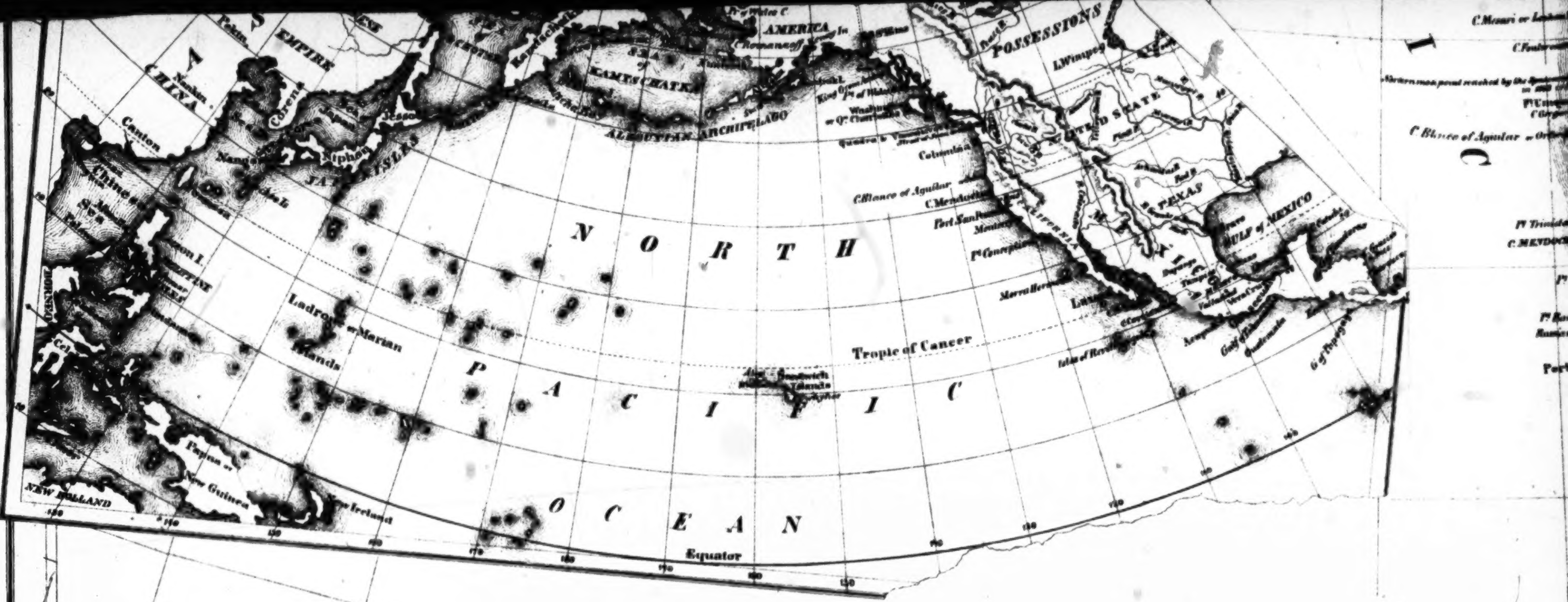
Astoria, the first settlement made on the Columbia by the Americans in 1811, is on the south side of the river, eight miles from its mouth; it consists at present of only a single house, occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company, and called *Fort George*.

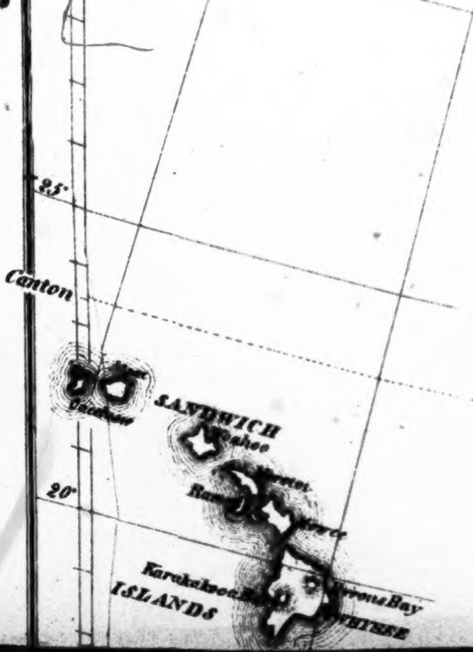
The Columbia, twenty-five miles from the sea, varies in width from seven miles to one, and that part of the river has been, in consequence, sometimes considered as a bay or inlet; this view is, however, contradicted by the fact, that the water continues to be fresh and potable to the immediate vicinity of the Pacific, except when the stream is very low, or the wind has long blown violently from the west. The river enters the Pacific between two points of land: one, on the north, called *Cape Disappointment*, or *Cape Hancock*, in latitude of 46 degrees 18 minutes; the other, called *Point Adams*, being seven miles southeast from the former. From each of these points a sand-bar runs into the water; above which the waves of the Pacific, on the one side, and the torrents of the Columbia, on the other, meet with terrific violence, producing a most formidable line of breakers. These circumstances render the entrance and departure of vessels hazardous at all times, and almost impossible when the winds are high. The depth of the water, between the bars, is thirty feet at the lowest; no vessel drawing more than fourteen feet can, however, proceed far up the river, on account of the irregularities of the channel.

This river, like the others in Northwest America, abounds in fish, particularly in salmon, which ascend all its branches up to the Blue Mountains, and form the principal means of subsistence for the natives of the first and middle regions. Of those natives, the limits of the present sketch do not admit a detailed description; they are supposed to be in number about twenty thousand, all savages incapable of civilization.

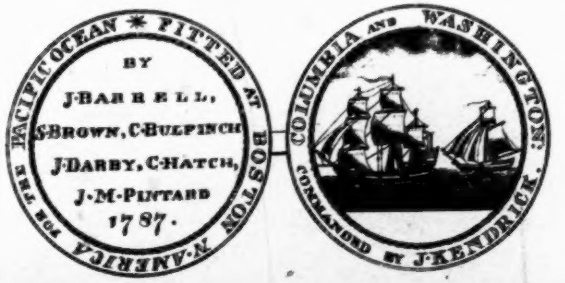

98°
93°
88°
83°
78°
73°
68°
63°
58 West from 58 Washington
Petropavlovsk
55°
50°
45°
Pekin 40
SEA of KAMSCHATKA
BRISTOL BAY
RUSSIAN POSSESSIONS
C. Avinoff
R. Kuskoquim
C. Newnham
Gulf of Kenay
Turnagain
Mt. St. Elias
Mt. Fairweather
Bay of Islands
Cook's Inlet
KODIAK
ALIASKA
Unalaska
Unimak
Shumagin I.
Chirikoff I.
ALEUTIAN Is.
Copper R.
Prince William's Sound
Behring's Bay or Yakutat
Cross Sound
Lynn Canal
Chatham Str.
Baranoff
Kristan or Chatham Str.
Cross Sound
Northern most point reached by the Spaniards
Washington or Qn. Charlotte's Is.
Pintard or Qn. Charlotte's Sd.
Milbank Sd.
Nootka or Port San Lorenzo
Strait of Juan de Fuca
Cape Disappointment
Columbia
Simpson
PACIFIC
NEW CALEDONIA
Babine
THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN and the adjacent Coasts and Islands
ARCTIC OCEAN
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
OCHOTSK
SEA of KAMSCHATKA
KAMSCHATKA
RUSSIAN AMERICA
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Hudsons Bay
L. Winnipeg
CHINESE EMPIRE
ASIA
CHINA
Pekin
Nankin
Corea
Arctic Circle


W. Washington 48°
43°
38°
33°
28°
23°
18°
13°
8°
3°
St Petersburgh
Edinburgh
55°
Liverpool
London
50°
Paris
Quebec
45°
Halifax
Portland
Boston
Rome
Naples
New York
40°
Philadelphia
Washington
HUDSON'S BAY
JAMES BAY
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
Chipewyans & Crees
NEW CALEDONIA
UNITED STATES
IOWA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Ft Providence
Ft Resolution
Ft Simpson
Slave R.
Little Lake
Old Fort
Ft Liard
Whitefish L.
Northlined L.
Deer Lake
Peace R.
Ft Vermilion
Dunvegan Ft
Lesser Slave L.
Rocky Mountains
Methye Ft
L. la Biche
Cumberland
Ft Pitt
Carlton
Red Deer R.
Saskatchewan R.
High Hills
Ft Ellice
Brandon Ho
York
Albany Ft
Henrietta Maria
Superior
Strait of Juan de Fuca
Cape Disappointment
Columbia River
Mt St Helens
Mt Baker
Plains
Between the Rocky Mountains and Lake of the Woods by treaty of 1818
Springfield
Black Hills
White R.
Platte R.
St Peters R.


CHINA
Pekin
EMPIRE
Nankin
Canton
Corea
Japan
Niphon
Jesso
JAPAN ISLES
Chinese Sea
Luzon I.
PHILIPPINE ISLES
BORNEO
Celebes
NEW HOLLAND
Papua or New Guinea
New Ireland
Ladrones or Marian Islands
KAMTSCHATKA
ALEOUTIAN ARCHIPELAGO
AMERICA
Romanzoff
P. of Wales C.
POSSESSIONS
L. Winipeg
UNITED STATES
TEXAS
GULF of MEXICO
MEXICO
CALIFORNIA
Columbia
C. Blanco of Aguilar
C. Mendocino
Port San Francisco
Monterey
Pt Conception
Tropic of Cancer
Sandwich Islands
Isles of Revillagigedo
Gulf of Tehuantepec
Guatemala
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
Equator
C. Blanco of Aguilar
C. MENDOCINO
Pt Trinidad


25°
Canton
20°
SANDWICH ISLANDS
Woahoo
Karakakoo Bay
Byrons Bay
OWHYHEE

FAC-SIMILE of a Medal struck at Boston in 1787 on occasion of the departure of the vessels COLUMBIA and WASHINGTON for the North West Coast of America, taken from one of the original Medals, deposited by the HON: C. CUSHING, in the Library of the Department of State of the United States.


PACIFIC OCEAN ✱ FITTED AT BOSTON N. AMERICA FOR THE
BY
J. BARRELL,
S. BROWN, C. BULFINCH
J. DARBY, C. HATCH,
J. M. PINTARD
1787.
COLUMBIA AND WASHINGTON.
COMMANDED BY J. KENDRICK.

THE

NORTH-WEST-COAS

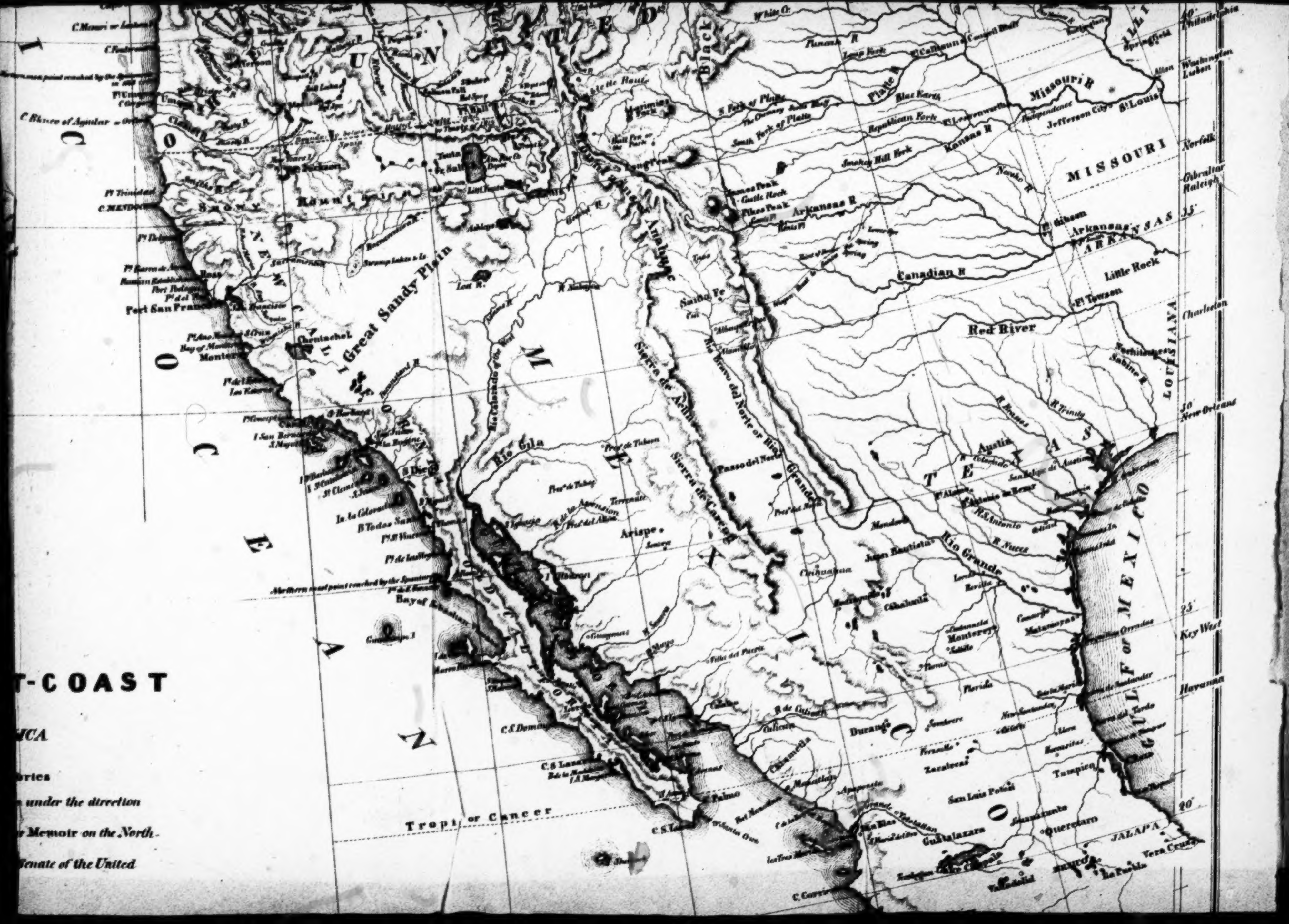
of

NORTH AMERICA

and

adjacent Territories

Compiled from the best authorities under the direction
of **Robert Greenhow** *to accompany his* **Memoir** *on the Nor*
west Coast Published by order of the Senate of the United
States drawn by **David H. Burr.**

T-COAST
ICA
ories
under the direction
Memoir on the North-
Senate of the United
O C E A N
U N I T E D
M E X I C O
T E X A S
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
GULF of MEXICO
NEW CALIFORNIA
OLD CALIFORNIA
Great Sandy Plain
Port San Francisco
Monterey
Santa Fe
Rio Gila
Rio Bravo del Norte or Rio Grande
Rio Grande
Red River
Canadian R.
Arkansas R.
Kansas R.
Missouri R.
St. Louis
Jefferson City
Independence
Little Rock
Austin
R. Nueces
Sierra de Acha
Sierra de la Carcaja
Passo del Norte
Chihuahua
Arispe
Durango
Monterey
Matamoras
Tampico
San Luis Potosi
Queretaro
Guadalaxara
Zacatecas
Vera Cruz
Jalapa
La Puebla
San Blas
Mazatlan
Culiacan
Bay of Sebastian
Tropic of Cancer
Northern coast point reached by the Spaniards
Pikes Peak
Longs Peak
Rocky Mountains
Snowy Mountains
Charleston
New Orleans
Key West
Havanna
Norfolk
Gibraltar
Raleigh
Washington
Lisbon
Philadelphia
40°
35°
30°
25°
20°

MEMOIR,

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL,

ON THE

NORTHWEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA,

AND

THE ADJACENT TERRITORIES.

CHAPTER I.

Preliminary observations—Early attempts of the Spaniards to explore the western coasts of North America—Voyages made by authority of Hernan Cortes—Discovery of California by Becerra, in 1533—Voyage of Cortes in the Gulf of California—Discovery of the west coast of California by Ulloa, in 1539—Expeditions of Coronado and Alarcon—Voyage of Cabrillo, in 1542—Establishment of direct intercourse by the Pacific between Mexico and India—Visit of Francis Drake to the northwest coast in 1579.

The territories first seen by Europeans on the western side of the Atlantic were naturally supposed to be parts of Asia, or to lie in the immediate vicinity of that continent, the eastern limits of which were then unknown; and, as the circumference of the earth was moreover, at that time, considered to be much less than it really is, hopes were entertained among the maritime nations of Europe that some route for their ships to India, safer and shorter than any around the southern extremity of Africa, would be speedily discovered.

It was under the influence of such expectations that the united Spanish Sovereigns concluded with the King of Portugal the celebrated Treaty of Partition, founded on the bull issued in 1493, by Pope Alexander VI. Agreeably to this treaty, the Spaniards were to make no attempts to communicate with India by sea through eastern routes, which became in a manner the property of Portugal; while, on the other hand, they were to possess exclusive control and use of every western channel of intercourse with those countries, which might be discovered. This and other important questions of jurisdiction having been thus definitively settled between the two greatest maritime powers of Europe, under the guaranty of the highest authority then recognised among civilized nations, each of the parties to the treaty confined its researches within the limits assigned to it.

[illegible] In these examinations, the Portuguese were the most successful. They soon found their way by the Cape of Good Hope to India, where they firmly established their pre-eminence; while the Spaniards were vainly exploring the Atlantic coasts of the New World, in search of some opening through which they might penetrate with their ships into the ocean bathing the southern side of Asia. 1513. At length, in 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, the Governor of the Spanish colony of Darien, on the Atlantic, after a short march across the mountains overlooking that place, arrived on the shore of a sea, which was supposed to be no other than the long-sought Southern ocean; and, as the proximity of this sea to the Atlantic was at the same time demonstrated, farther encouragement was afforded for the hope that the two great waters would be found united in a position the most favorable for the prosecution of the desired objects. The researches of the Spaniards were, in consequence, directed particularly towards the isthmus of Darien, and were conducted with zeal, until the fact of the entire separation of the oceans in that quarter was determined.

1520. In the mean time, however, Fernando Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, discovered the strait which has ever since borne his name, and, having passed through it with his ships, continued his voyage westward to India. The grand geographical question, as to the possibility of circumnavigating the earth, was thus solved; but not in a manner satisfactory to the Spaniards. The strait of Magellan was intricate, and beset by dangers of every kind; and it was itself almost as distant from Europe as India by the eastern route. Moreover, the sea intervening between the new continent and Asia proved to be much wider than had been supposed; and, in every part of it, which was traversed by vessels for many years after its discovery, the winds were found to blow constantly from eastern points. [illegible] These circumstances, as they successively became known, contributed to depress the hopes of the Spaniards, with regard to the establishment of their dominion in India; other events, however, occurred at the same time, which consoled them in part for the disappointment, and fixed their attention upon the New World.

1517 to [illegible] While Magellan's voyage was in progress, the rich and populous empire of Mexico was discovered, and it was soon after conquered by the Spaniards, under Hernan Cortes. Within the ensuing ten years Peru and Chili were likewise subjected to the authority of the Spanish monarch; and the silver of America began to be considered as ample compensation for the loss of the spices and diamonds of India. The brilliant results of these extraordinary enterprises attracted from Europe crowds of adventurers, all eager to acquire wealth and distinction by similar means, who, uniting in bands under daring leaders, traversed the new continent in various directions, seeking rich nations to plunder. Fortunately for the cause of humanity, these expeditions were fruitless, so far at least as regards the object for which they were undertaken; on the other hand, much information was speedily acquired by means of them, respecting the geography of coasts and regions, which would not otherwise have been explored, perhaps, for centuries. 1517 to 1532.

Among those who were at this period engaged in endeavoring to discover new kingdoms in America, and new passages between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, the most zealous and persevering was Hernan Cortes. Scarcely *had he effected the establishment of the Spanish authority in Mexico, ere he commenced preparations for exploring the adjacent seas and countries; in expeditions of which nature he employed a great portion of his time, as well as of his private fortune, during the whole period of his residence in that kingdom. In prosecution of his plans, the interior, as well as the coasts on both sides of the region connecting Mexico with South America, were minutely explored, until it had been ascertained that no wealthy nations occupied those territories, and that the two seas were entirely separated by land throughout the whole extent. This arduous task having been accomplished, the enterprising conqueror of Mexico directed his attention towards the northwest.

At that period, the most northern settlements of the Spaniards in the American continent were: on the Atlantic side, Panuco, situated near the spot now occupied by the town of Tampico, within a few miles of the Mexican Gulf; and, on the Pacific, Culiacan, a small place near the eastern side of the entrance to the Gulf of California. Northward of these settlements, which were both in the vicinity of the tropic of Cancer, nothing was known of the continent, except with regard to some isolated portions of its eastern coasts.

It should here be observed, that the accounts which have descended to us of all voyages performed before the middle of the last century, and of all Spanish voyages to a much more recent period, are very defective, especially as regards geographical positions. Seldom, indeed, is it possible to identify a spot by means of the descriptions contained in those accounts. This arises, in the first place, from the circumstance that such narratives were usually written by priests, or other persons unacquainted with nautical matters, who paid little attention to latitudes and bearings. In the next place, the instruments employed in those days for determining the altitudes and relative distances of heavenly bodies were so imperfect, both in plan and in execution, that observations made with them on land, and under the most favorable conditions of atmosphere, led to results which were far from accurate; while at sea, when there was much motion in the vessel, or the air was not absolutely clear, those instruments were useless. To these causes of error are to be added the want of proper methods of calculation, as well as of knowledge of various modifying circumstances, such as refraction, aberration, &c. Hence, it followed that the statements of latitude, given in the accounts above mentioned, are of little value as indicating the positions of places, and are at best only approximative; while those of longitude, being

---

* Letter of Cortes to Charles V., written from Mexico, in 1524.

1531. when given at all, deduced merely from the notes of the vessel's course and rate of sailing, are entirely worthless. It is scarcely necessary to add that this uncertainty as to the geographical situations of places produced confusion with regard to names; and, accordingly, we find that there are few remarkable spots on the northwest coast of America, discovered before the middle of the last century, which have not at different times been distinguished by many different appellations.

Respecting the voyages of discovery, made by order of Cortes in the Atlantic seas, little is to be found on record; and no notice of them is required for our present purposes. The first expedition, under his auspices, towards the northwest, took place in 1532, and terminated most disastrously.

1532. This expedition was commanded by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, a relation of Cortes, who sailed from Acapulco in a small ship, accompanied by another under Juan de Mazuela; they advanced together along the southwest coast of Mexico, as far north as the 27th degree of latitude, and were there separated by a storm: after which nothing more was heard of the vessel commanded by Mendoza. The other ship, under Mazuela, was obliged, after the storm, to put back to the river of Culiacan, the nearest Spanish port, where she was deserted by the greater part of her crew. Those who remained then endeavored to carry her to Acapulco; but she was stranded on the shore of the province of Jalisco, near the place where San Blas now stands; and her crew, with the exception of three, were murdered by the savages. The vessel was subsequently seized and rifled by Nuño de Guzman, the chief of a roving band of adventurers, who, assuming the title of Governor of Jalisco, pretended to act for the Sovereign of Spain, independently of Cortes.

1533. A year having elapsed after the departure of these vessels, without any news being received of them, Cortes despatched two others in the same direction, under Hernando de Grijalva and Diego de Becerra, who sailed together from Tehuantepec on the 30th of October, 1533.

Grijalva, being soon separated from his companion, took a westward course, and reached a group of small islands at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles from the main land, (now called the Revillagigedo islands;) after which he returned to Mexico, without having effected any other discovery.

Meanwhile, Becerra, likewise sailing westward from Tehuantepec, found land almost immediately under the tropic of Cancer, and anchored in a small bay, where his men, having obtained some valuable pearls, became anxious to fix themselves for a time. This Becerra refused to permit; and he was preparing to continue his voyage, when a mutiny took place, in the course of which he was murdered, and the command was assumed by Fortunio Ximenes, the pilot. In pursuance of their plan, the mutineers then landed, and began to construct habitations on the shore of the bay; but, while thus engaged, they were surprised by a body of savages, who killed nearly the whole of them. The survivors escaped with the vessel, and succeeded in navigating her over to

1533. the little port of Chiametla, on the coast of Jalisco, where she was also seized by the lawless Nuño de Guzman.

It may be mentioned, at once, that the land thus discovered by Becerra was the southern extremity of the peninsula of California. The bay in which his ship was lying at the time of his assassination is supposed to be that now called the bay of La Paz, and sometimes the bay of San Jose.*

1534. When Cortes became assured of the seizure and spoliation of his vessels by Guzman, he prosecuted that person before the *Audiencia*, or royal court of justice of Mexico, which immediately decided in his favor. The pretended Governor of Jalisco, however, proved refractory, and refused to make restitution; whereupon, the conqueror assembled a body of troops, and marched at their head to Chiametla, in order to recover his vessels, and re-establish his authority in that country. On his approach, Guzman fled, with his adherents, to the interior; and Cortes having been joined at Chiametla, agreeably to his orders, by three vessels, determined to proceed with them in person to the new country discovered by Becerra in the west, which was said to be so rich in pearls and precious stones.

1535. April 15. He accordingly embarked with his forces at Chiametla, and on the 3d of May, the day of the *Invention or Finding of the Holy Cross*, agreeably to the Roman Catholic calendar, he reached the bay in which Becerra had been murdered. In honor of this day, the name of *La Santa Cruz* (the Holy Cross) was bestowed upon the country, as well as on the bay; and possession having been solemnly taken of the whole in the name of the Sovereign of Spain, preparations were commenced for the establishment of a colony on the spot. These arrangements being completed, Cortes took his departure with two vessels, to examine the coasts of the new territory towards the north and east, for the purpose of assuring himself whether or not it was united to the American continent.

Of the voyage made by Cortes in the arm of the sea between California and the continent, the accounts are so confused and contradictory that it is impossible to ascertain his route. It appears, however, that, although he crossed this sea several times, he did not reach its northern extremity. After some time spent in this manner, during which his vessels were frequently in danger of destruction from storms, and their crews were suffering from want of provisions, he at length returned to Santa Cruz, where he found the colonists in the utmost distress from famine and privations of all sorts. Under these circumstances, he resolved to go back to Mexico, in order to procure supplies; which he accordingly did, leaving the colony in charge of his lieutenant, Francisco de Ulloa.

1536. On arriving at Acapulco, in the beginning of 1536, Cortes learned that, during his absence from Mexico, he had been superseded

---

* The accounts of these voyages are derived from Herrera's History of the Spanish Empire in America, and from Navarrete's Introduction to the Journal of the voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana.

1536. in the government of that country by Don Antonio de Mendoza,
a nobleman of high rank, who had already made his entrance into
the capital as Viceroy. The conqueror thus saw himself, in a
moment, despoiled of his power, in the territory which had been,
through his exertions, added to the Spanish dominions; and the
blow was the more severe, as his private property had been almost
entirely expended in his endeavors to make new discoveries.
He was, however, not to be depressed by these difficulties;
and as he still possessed the right, in his quality of Admiral of the
South Sea, to prepare and despatch vessels upon the Pacific, he
immediately resolved to engage in another expedition towards the
northwest, where he hoped to find the means of retrieving his
fortunes. He accordingly recalled Ulloa and the colonists from
Santa Cruz; and having with difficulty succeeded in raising the
necessary funds, he equipped three ships for the contemplated
voyage, which was not commenced until 1539.

1539. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Francisco de
Ulloa, Cortes being obliged to remain at Mexico in order to attend
to some important suits at law, in which he had become involved.
July 8. Ulloa quitted Acapulco on the 8th of July, 1539, and,
after losing one of his ships in a storm near the coast of Culiacan,
he sailed with the two others towards the west, as far as the harbor
Sept. 7. of Santa Cruz, which, as well as the surrounding country,
began by this time to be called *California.*[*] To ascertain the
extent of this country, and whether it was connected with America
or with Asia, or was detached from both those continents,
were the first objects of the voyage; in pursuance of which, the
Spanish navigator directed his course from Santa Cruz northward,
through the arm of the ocean separating California from the main
land of Mexico on the east. In this course he proceeded, examining
both shores, until he had convinced himself that the two
territories were united near the 33d degree of latitude. He then
Oct. 18. returned southward to Santa Cruz, through the same arm of the
ocean, to which he gave the appropriate name of *Mar de Cortes,*
(Sea of Cortes.) This great gulf has since received a variety of
appellations, of which that principally used by the Spaniards is
Mar Vermejo, (Vermillion Sea.) Among all other nations, it is
known as the Gulf of California.

Having thus ascertained the continuity of California with America
in the northeast, Ulloa next proceeded to examine the western
sides of the new country. With this view, he sailed from the
Oct. 29. harbor of Santa Cruz, around the southern extremity of the land
which is now called Cape San Lucas; thence he advanced along
Nov. 7. the coast, northward, struggling almost constantly against the violent
northwest winds which prevail in that part of the Pacific,
1540, Mar. 25. until he reached the 30th degree of latitude. By the time of his
arrival at that parallel, many of the men in both vessels were disabled
by sickness, and the stock of provisions was much reduced;

---

[*] With regard to the origin or the signification of the word California, many speculations have been offered, none of which are either satisfactory or ingenious.

in consequence of which, it was determined that one of the vessels should go back to Mexico, carrying the sick and the news of their discoveries, while Ulloa should remain in the other for the purpose of examining the coast still farther. The necessary arrangements having been accordingly made, the two vessels parted at the Isle of Cedars, (now called *Isla de Cerros*, or Isle of Mountains,) situated near the coast, in the 28th degree of latitude. The vessel called the Santa Agueda, bearing the sick and the despatches, reached Acapulco in safety before the end of May, 1540. Whether or not Ulloa ever returned to Mexico, is not known with certainty.* Thus terminated the last expedition of discovery made by authority of Hernan Cortes. 1540. April 5.

In the mean time, the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, who succeeded Cortes in the government of Mexico, had also become interested in the examination of the coasts and countries north of that kingdom; his attention having been thus directed by the accounts of some persons who had made a long and toilsome peregrination across those regions.

1527 to 1536. These persons, Alvaro Nuñez, (better known in history as *Cabeza Vaca*, or Bull-head,) two other Spaniards, and a negro, had landed, in 1527, near Tampa Bay, in East Florida, among the adventurers under Panfilo Ñarvaez, who invaded that country in search of mines or nations to plunder; and after the destruction of their comrades by starvation, shipwreck, and the arrows of the savages, had wandered for nine years through forests and deserts, until, at length, they reached Culiacan, near the Gulf of California, in 1536. Although these adventurers had themselves seen no signs of cultivation or wealth in the territories thus traversed, yet they had received from the savages, on their way, many confused accounts of rich and populous kingdoms situated still farther northward; and the Viceroy, having heard their statements, thought proper to endeavor to ascertain the truth of the reports. For this purpose he was induced, by the advice and solicitation of his friend, the celebrated Bartolomé de las Casas, to employ two Franciscan friars, in place of the soldiers who were usually sent on such expeditions; in order that the natives might be in this manner preserved from the violence which military men would not fail to exercise, if opportunity should be offered for the gratification of their cupidity.

1539. Mar. 7. The friars, Marcos de Niza and Honorato, with the negro who had accompanied Cabeza Vaca, and some Indians, accordingly departed from Culiacan on the 7th of March, 1539. What route they took it is impossible now to discover. The reverend explorers, however, returned before the end of the year, (without the negro,) bringing accounts of countries which they had visited in the northwest, abounding in gold and precious stones, and in-

---

* Our knowledge of Ulloa's voyage is derived chiefly from the narrative of Francisco Preciado, one of the officers of the Santa Agueda, which is interesting, though by no means exact. It may be found in Italian, in the Collection of Ramusio, vol. iii, page 363; and in English, though badly translated, in the reprint of Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 503.

1539. habited by a population more numerous and more civilized than either Mexico or Peru.

According to the letter[*] addressed to the Viceroy by friar Marcos, upon his return, these rich and delightful countries were situated beyond the 35th degree of latitude, in the vicinity of the sea, and were separated from those previously known to the Spaniards by extensive tracts of forest and desert, through which it would be necessary to pass in order to reach the golden region. The friar describes with minuteness his route, as well as the situation, extent, and divisions of the new countries; dwelling particularly on the magnificence and greatness of a city called *Cibola*, the capital of a province of the same name, which he describes as containing more than twenty thousand large stone houses, all richly adorned with gold and jewels. The people of this place, as the letter says, were at first hostile to the strangers, and had killed the negro; but, in the end, they had evinced a disposition to embrace Christianity, and to submit to the authority of Spain; in consequence of which, the friars had secretly taken possession of the whole country for their Sovereign, by setting up crosses in various parts.

These, and other things of the like nature, gravely related by ecclesiastics, who professed to have witnessed what they described, were admitted as true by the Viceroy; and he accordingly prepared, without delay, to conquer these new countries, which were considered as belonging of right to his Catholic Majesty, as well as to convert their inhabitants to Christianity. For these purposes, he raised a body of soldiers and missionaries, who were to pursue the route described by friar Marcos, under the command of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the governor of the territory immediately north of Mexico, called New Gallicia. At the same time, in order, if there should be occasion, to support these forces, a small squadron was sent along the western coast, towards the north, under the direction of Fernando de Alarcon.

Cortes also claimed the right, as Admiral of the South Sea, to attempt the conquest of these countries by means of a naval armament; and a violent dispute in consequence arose between the
1540. two chiefs. The conqueror, however, had expended all his disposable funds upon the equipment of the ships[†] which he had sent out under Ulloa, before the return of friar Marcos from the north; and he had, therefore, only to console himself with the hope that those vessels might accidentally have reached the shores of the golden land before its invasion by the forces of the Viceroy. In this expectation he was disappointed, as already shown. This extraordinary man, soon after the conclusion of Ulloa's voyage, returned to Spain, where he passed the remaining seven years of his life in vain efforts to procure restitution of his prop-

---

[*] See Ramusio, vol. iii, page 297; and Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 438.

[†] Herrera says that Ulloa was sent by Cortes to subdue the countries discovered by friar Marcos. This is, however, an error, if the dates given by him and the other historians of that period be correct.

erty and honors, in the vast and valuable dominions which he 1540. had rendered subject to the crown of Castile.

[*] Fernando de Alarcon, the commander of the naval forces sent by Mendoza for the conquest of Cibola, sailed from the harbor of Santiago, on the west coast of Mexico, with two ships of war, and May 9. advanced northward along that coast to the extremity of the Californian gulf, where he found the entrance of a large and rapid river. Having embarked, with a portion of his crew, in boats, Aug. 26. upon this river, to which he gave the name of *Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia*, (Our Lady of Safe Conduct,) he ascended one of its branches, (probably that now called the *Colorado*,) to the distance of eighty leagues from its mouth. Throughout this whole distance he found the stream broad and rapid, and the country on either side rich and thickly peopled, though occupied only by savages. In reply to the inquiries made by him respecting Coronado's party, and the rich territories of which they were in search, he received a number of confused stories of kingdoms abounding in gold and precious stones, and inhabited by civilized nations; of rivers filled with crocodiles; of droves of buffaloes; of enchanters, and other wonderful or remarkable objects. At the extremity of his course up the river, he received what he considered definite information respecting Cibola, and was even assured that he might reach that country by a march of ten days into the interior. He, however, suspected some treachery on the part of those who gave such assurances; and fearing lest he should be cut off in case he proceeded farther onwards, he descended the river to his ships, and returned to Mexico before the end of the year. His report to the Viceroy displays great self-conceit, and violent animosity against Cortes and Ulloa. Mendoza was, however, so little satisfied with his conduct, that he was, immediately after his return, dismissed from the service.

The land forces sent under Coronado exhibited much greater perseverance in their search for the rich kingdoms believed to be situated in the northwestern part of America. According to the letter of their general,[†] who appears to have been a person of sober and resolute character, this body of soldiers and priests, after leaving Culiacan, followed the route described by the two friars, April 22. and found the forests and deserts mentioned in their narrative. Having toiled through these dreary regions, however, they had ample cause to distrust the other statements of the reverend discoverers. They indeed reached a country called Cibola, situa- August. ted nearly in the position assigned by the missionaries to their golden land; but they there saw before them only a half-cultivated territory, thinly inhabited by a people not absolutely barbarous, but yet entirely destitute of that wealth and refinement which had been attributed to them in the reports made to the Viceroy. The magnificent cities were small Indian villages, the

---

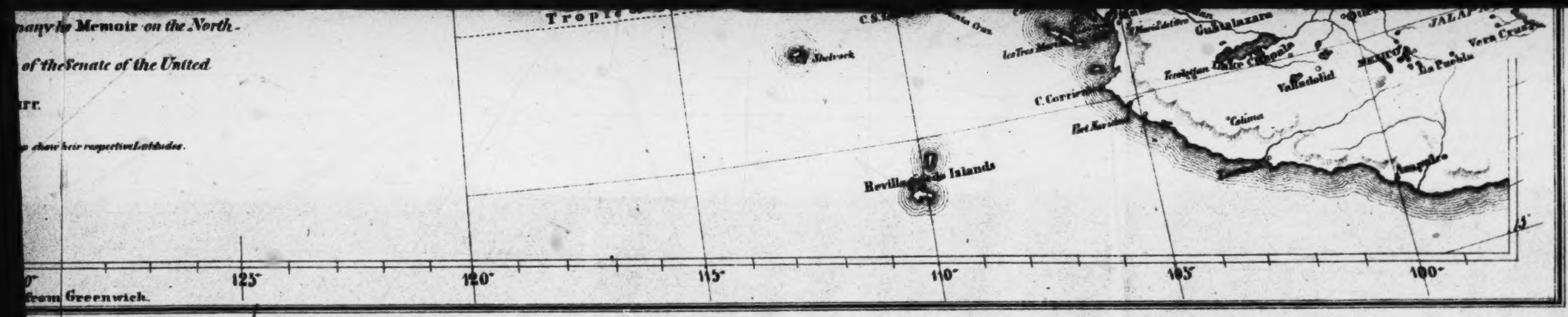
[*] Letter of Alarcon to the Viceroy, in Ramusio, vol. iii, page 303; and in Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 505.

[†] Ramusio, vol. iii, page 300; Hakluyt, vol. iii, page 447.

1787.
N.AMERICA
NDED BY J.KENDR
Karakakooa B.
ISLANDS
Bay
WHYHEE
Roa
15°
155°
150°
145°
140°
135°
130°
12
Longitude West from Greenwich

of Robert Greenhow to accompany his Memoir on the North-west Coast Published by order of the Senate of the United States drawn by David H. Burr.

Note. The names of places on the border of the Map show their respective Latitudes.


pany the Memoir on the North-
of the Senate of the United
rr.
o show heir respective Latitudes.
Tropic
C.S. Lucas
Santa Cruz
Shelrock
Les Tres Marias
C. Corrientes
Port Navidad
Guadalazara
Lake Chapala
Valladolid
Colima
JALAPA
Vera Cruz
MEXICO
La Puebla
Acapulco
Revillagigedo Islands
15°
125°
120°
115°
110°
105°
100°
from Greenwich.

1540. largest not containing more than two hundred houses; and the immense quantities of precious metals and stones dwindled down into "*a few turquoises,*" and "*some little gold and silver, supposed to be good.*" In fine, as Coronado says in his despatch written from Cibola, "*the reverend father provincial had told the truth in nothing which he said respecting kingdoms, provinces, and cities, in this region; for we have found all quite the contrary.*"

The Spaniards, although they were thus disappointed in their hopes of plunder, yet did not like to return empty-handed to Mexico, and petitioned their leader to allow them to settle in Cibola, which was a pleasant and agreeable country. To this request, however, Coronado would not assent; and he could only be prevailed on to continue the march northward for some time longer, in search of other rich countries, which were said by the people of Cibola to lie in that direction. Of the remainder of their journey after quitting Cibola, we have a very imperfect account. It appears that they rambled for two years through the region between the Pacific and the great dividing chain of mountains, deriving their subsistence chiefly from the flesh of the buffaloes, which were there found in large numbers. The northern limit 1541. of their wanderings was a country called by them *Quivira*, near the ocean, and under the 40th degree of latitude, inhabited by a kind and intelligent people, from whom the Spaniards learned that the coasts were occasionally visited by ships laden with rich goods and adorned with gilded images.* With information of 1542. this nature the adventurers returned to Mexico in 1542, to the great disappointment of Mendoza, who doubtless expected more real results from the labor and expense bestowed by him on the equipment and pay of the body.

1541. Before the return of Coronado's party from the northwest,† the Viceroy had prepared another naval armament, which was to proceed in that direction, from one of the ports on the Pacific, under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, one of the most celebrated heroes of the conquest. But, just as it was about to depart, a rebellion broke out among the Indians of the province of Jalisco; and the forces which had been assembled for the expedition on the ocean were all required to re-establish the Spanish authority in the disturbed territories. In the course of the campaign which ensued, Alvarado was killed by a kick from his horse; and the difficulties in Jalisco continuing, Mendoza could not carry into effect his views with regard to the countries northwest of Mexico until the following year.

1542. The disturbances in Mexico having been‡ at length quieted, two of the vessels which had been prepared for the expedition to the North Pacific were placed under the command of Juan Rodriguez de Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator of considerable rep- June 27. utation at that day. These vessels sailed together from the port of Navidad, in Jalisco; and, after a short passage, reached the harbor 1542. of Santa Cruz, whence they proceeded around Cape San Lucas, July 2. in order to explore the west coast of California, which had been discovered two years before by Francisco de Ulloa. Without attempting to trace minutely the progress of Cabrillo along this coast, or to enumerate the various bays, capes, and islands visited by him, scarcely any of which can now be identified, suffice it to say that, by the middle of November, he had advanced Nov. 15. as far north as the 40th degree of latitude; having been, like Ulloa, incessantly opposed by violent northwesterly winds. From this height the Spaniards were driven back to a harbor, which they had before entered and named *Port Possession*, supposed to be in the small island of San Bernardo, near the main land under the 34th parallel. Here Cabrillo sunk under the fatigues to which he 1543. had been subjected, and died, Jan. 3. leaving the command of the ships to the pilot, Bartolomé Ferrer, or Ferrelo.

---

* In this account there is nothing improbable. Japanese vessels have been found upon the northwest coasts of America twice since 1814.

† Herrera, decade 7, book 2, chapter 11. ‡ Herrera, decade 7, book 5, chapter 3.

The new commander, being no less enterprising than his predecessor, resolved, if possible, to attain some of the objects of the expedition before returning to Mexico. He accordingly sailed from Port Possession; and, after having been several times driven back, at length, on the 1st of March, he found himself, by observation, March 1. in the 44th degree of latitude. Here the crews of both vessels were suffering from cold, fatigue, and want of proper nourishment; in consequence of which, it was resolved that the attempt to proceed farther northward should be abandoned. Agreeably to this resolution, the navigators directed their course towards the south, and arrived in safety at Navidad on the 14th of April, 1543.

It is not easy, from the accounts which we possess, to ascertain precisely what was the most northern point on the American coast seen by the Spaniards in this expedition. Navarrete,* after examining the journals and other papers relating to the voyage, which are still preserved in the Archives of the Indies, pronounces that the 43d parallel of latitude is to be considered as the northern limit of the discoveries made by Cabrillo and Ferrelo. The same writer has also remarked, that the latitudes assigned in those documents to all the places visited by the ships, which can now be identified, are about a degree and a half too high. Conformably with this observation, it would appear that a promontory, named by Ferrelo the Cape of Risks, (*Cabo de Fortunas,*) in commemoration of the perils encountered in its vicinity, may be that situated in the latitude of 40 degrees 20 minutes, which afterwards received the name of *Cape Mendocino.*

While the expeditions thus made under the authority of the 1538 Viceroy Mendoza were in progress, to Hernando de Soto and his 1543. band of adventurers were performing their celebrated march† through the region north of the Mexican Gulf, which was then known by the general name of Florida. Without attempting to

---

* Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 34.

†There are several accounts of this expedition; among which, the best known are those by Garcilasso de la Vega, and by an anonymous Portuguese.

1539 to 1543. delineate the course of their wanderings, suffice it to say that they traversed, in various directions, the vast territories now composing the southern and southwestern States of the American Union, and then descended the Mississippi from a point near the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf, over which they made their way in boats to Panuco. From the accounts of the few who survived the fatigues and perils of this enterprise, added to those of Alvaro Nuñez and Vasquez de Coronado respecting the countries which they had severally visited, it was considered absolutely certain that neither wealthy nations nor navigable passages between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans were to be found north of Mexico, unless beyond the 40th degree of latitude. Having arrived at this conclusion, the Spaniards desisted from their efforts to explore the northwest division of America, and did not renew them until nearly fifty years afterwards. In the mean time, circumstances had occurred which served to show that the discovery of any means of facilitating the entrance of ships from Europe into the Pacific would be deleterious to the interests of Spain in the New World.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had established their dominion over a large portion of the coasts and islands of the East Indies, between which and Europe they were carrying on an extensive and valuable trade by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The Spaniards, in the mean time, viewing with feelings of jealousy and vexation this advancement of the power and wealth of their rivals, had endeavored likewise to obtain a footing in southern Asia, for which purpose naval armaments had been despatched thither from Spain, through the straits of Magellan, and also from the ports of Mexico on the Pacific. These expeditions had, however, proved unsuccessful. The squadron
1542. sent from Mexico in 1542, under Admiral Villalobos, crossed the Pacific in safety, and reached the group of islands, since called the Philippines, of which possession was taken for the King of Spain. The forces of Villalobos were, however, soon dispersed, and none of his vessels returned to Mexico.

1564. In 1564 the Spaniards made another effort to establish themselves in the East Indies, the issue of which was more fortunate. The Philippine islands were in that year entirely subjugated by Miguel de Legaspi, who had been sent for the purpose with a squadron from the port of Navidad, on the west coast of Mexico; moreover, a discovery was effected during this expedition, which proved highly important, and without which, indeed, the other results would have been of little value. Until that period, no one had ever crossed the Pacific from Asia to America; all who had attempted to make such a voyage having endeavored to sail directly westward, through the part of the ocean lying between the tropics, where the winds blow constantly from eastern points. Three of Legaspi's ships, however, by taking a northeastern course from the Philippines, entered a region of variable winds, and were thus enabled to reach the vicinity of the Californian coast, about the 40th parallel of latitude, from which the prevailing northwesters soon carried them to Mexico.

The Spaniards thus gained—what they had so long desired—a position in the East Indies; and all doubts as to the practicability of communication with those countries, by means of the Pacific, were completely dissipated. Various other obstacles to the navigation of that ocean being in like manner removed about the same period, the commercial intercourse between the Spanish provinces in America and in Asia rapidly increased. Large ships sailed regularly from Acapulco, laden with precious metals and European merchandise, for Manilla and Macao, from which places they brought back the silks and spices of the Indies, either for consumption in Mexico, or for transportation to Spain; while an extensive trade in articles no less valuable was carried on between Panama and the ports of Chili and Peru. The voyages made for these purposes were in general long, but comparatively safe; and as the Pacific was for some years free from all intrusion on the part of other nations, little care or cost was bestowed upon the defence of the vessels, or of the towns on the coast. 1564 to 1579.

The ships proceeding from Acapulco to Manilla were carried, by the invariable easterly or *trade winds*, directly across the ocean, to their port; in returning, they frequently made the land on the northwest coast of America, the most prominent points of which thus became, in the course of time, tolerably well known. The accounts of two or three of these return voyages have been preserved; but the information obtained from them is of little use, in consequence of their want of exactness. In Hakluyt's Collection may be found a letter,[*] addressed in 1584 to the Viceroy of Mexico, by Francisco Gali, or Gualle, containing a description of his passages from Acapulco to Macao, and thence back to Acapulco; 1584. on which letter great stress is laid by Navarrete and other writers, as showing the extent of Spanish discoveries in the North Pacific during the sixteenth century. Gali there relates that he left Macao on the 24th of July, 1584, and, proceeding by the usual northern route, reached the American coast, in sight of which he sailed for a long distance before arriving at Acapulco. Where he first saw the land of America, the letter does not precisely state. After describing his course from the vicinity of Japan, east and east-by-north, he says: "Being by the same course, upon the coast of New Spain, under *seven-and-thirty degrees and a half*, we passed a very high and fair land, with many trees, wholly without snow, &c. From thence, we ran southeast, southeast-by-south, and southeast-by-east, as we found the wind, to the point called *el Cabo de San Lucas*, which is the beginning of the land of California on the northwest side, lying under two and twenty degrees, being five hundred leagues distant from Cape Mendocino." No mention is made of any land seen north of 37½ degrees; Navarrete, and after him Humboldt, however, insist that Gali reached the vicinity of the American continent, under the parallel of *fifty-seven and a half degrees*; and that the first land

---

[*] Vol. iii, page [illegible], of the reprint. The letter is "translated out of Spanish into Dutch, verbatim, by John Huyghen Van Linschoten," and from Dutch into English.

1584. seen by him was the western side of the largest island of King George the Third's group. This assertion is supported by no evidence; and is irreconcilable with the account given by the navigator in his letter, the genuineness of which is not denied.*

1595. Torquemada, in his History of the Indian Monarchy, (vol. 1, page 717,) mentions the voyage of a ship called the San Augustin along the western side of California, in 1595, under the command of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermenon, who had been directed to examine the coast in search of a place suitable for the establishment of a colony and marine depot; nothing, however, is stated respecting the course of the ship, except that she was lost in the bay of San Francisco. We have accounts of two or three other visits made by Europeans to this part of America during the sixteenth century, which will be noticed hereafter.

1560 to 1579. While the commerce of the Spaniards in the Pacific was thus increasing, their Government was adopting those measures of restriction and exclusion, which were maintained with so little relaxation during the whole remaining period of its supremacy in the American continent. The great object of its policy was to secure to the monarch and people of Spain the entire and perpetual enjoyment of all the advantages which could be derived from the territories claimed by them in virtue of the Papal cession of 1493; and, with that view, it was considered absolutely necessary, not only to prevent the establishment of foreigners in any part of those territories, but also to discourage the rapid advancement of the Spanish provinces themselves in population, wealth, or other resources. Agreeably to these ideas, the settlement, and even the exploring of new countries in America, were restrained; colonies were rarely allowed to be planted near the coasts, unless they might serve for purposes of defence; and when voyages or journeys of discovery were made, the results were generally concealed by the Government. The subjects of all foreign nations were prohibited, under pain of death, from touching the section of the New World supposed to belong to Spain, or from navigating the seas in its vicinity.

Against these excluding regulations, the English, after they had thrown off their allegiance to the head of the Roman Catholic church, began first to murmur, and then to act. Their Government required from that of Spain an acknowledgment of their rights to occupy vacant portions of America, and to trade with such as were already settled; and these demands having been refused, Queen Elizabeth did not hesitate to encourage her subjects, openly as well as secretly, to violate laws which she declared to

---

* The only authorities with regard to Gali's voyage, cited by Navarrete, in addition to the letter from the navigator contained in Hakluyt, are two letters addressed by the Viceroy of Mexico to the King of Spain in 1585, the originals of which are preserved in the Archives of the Indies. These two letters are merely mentioned in a note. The account of the voyage given by Navarrete is, however, with the exception of the difference as to the highest degree of latitude reached by Gali, precisely the same as that contained in Hakluyt. Humboldt, as usual, copies Navarrete in all things relating to the discovery of the northwest coast. The question is of no importance at present.

be unjustifiable and inhuman. The Gulf of Mexico and the West 1560
Indian seas were, in consequence, soon haunted by bands of da- to
ring English, who, under the equivocal denominations of *free-* 1578.
traders and *freebooters*, set at defiance all prohibitions with regard to commerce or territorial occupation, and frequently plundered the ships of the Spaniards, as well as the towns on their coasts. About the same time, the French Protestants began their attempts to form settlements in Florida; and the revolt in the Netherlands, which terminated in the freedom of the Dutch provinces, shortly after produced a formidable increase in the number of these irregular foes to the supremacy of Spain.

The Pacific was for some years preserved from such hostile invasions by the dread of the difficulties and dangers of the passage through the straits of Magellan; and the Spaniards began to regard as bulwarks of defence these obstacles to communication between Europe and the western side of America, which they had previously been so desirous to remove or counteract. The reports of the extent and value of the trade in the Pacific, and of the riches accumulated at various places in its vicinity, did not, however, fail in time to overcome all apprehensions on the part of the English,* whose ships at length, in 1578, appeared upon 1578.
that ocean, under the command of the most able and adventurous naval captain of the age. It is scarcely necessary to say that this captain was Francis Drake. As he is generally supposed to have, during the voyage here mentioned, effected important discoveries on the northwest coast of America, it will be proper to notice his movements in that quarter of the world particularly; and to determine, if possible, how far such suppositions are based upon authentic proofs. The most material facts on the subject, as collected from the only original evidence† which has yet been made public, are the following:

Francis Drake sailed from Plymouth in December, 1577, with 1577.
five small vessels, which had been procured and armed by him- Dec. 13.
self and other private individuals in England, ostensibly for a voyage to Egypt, but really for a predatory cruise against the dominions and subjects of Spain. The Governments of England and Spain were then, indeed, at peace with each other; but mutual hatred, arising from causes already alluded to, prevailed between the two nations, and the principles of general law or morals were not at that period so refined as to prevent Queen Elizabeth from favoring Drake's enterprise, with the real objects of which she was doubtless well acquainted.

For some months after leaving England, Drake roved about the 1578.
Atlantic, without making any prize of value; and then, having refitted his ships on the eastern coast of Patagonia, he succeeded

---

* The first attack made by the English on the Spaniards, in the Pacific, took place in 1575. In that year, a party of freebooters, headed by their captain, John Oxenham, crossed the isthmus of Panama, and built a vessel on the south side, in which they made several valuable prizes; they, however, at length fell into the hands of their enemies, and were all, with the exception of five boys, put to death at Panama.

† See Appendix A to this memoir.

1578. Sept. 5. in conducting three of them safely through the dreaded straits of Magellan, into the Pacific. Scarcely, however, was this accomplished, ere the little squadron was dispersed by a storm; and the chief of the expedition was left with only a schooner of a hundred tons burden, and about sixty men, to prosecute his enterprise against the power and wealth of the Spaniards on the western side of America.

December. Notwithstanding these disheartening occurrences, Drake did not hesitate to proceed to the parts of the coast occupied by the Spaniards, whom he found unprepared to resist him either on land or on sea. He accordingly plundered their towns and ships with little difficulty; and so deep and lasting was the impression produced by his achievements, that, for more than a century afterwards, his name was never pronounced in those countries without exciting feelings of horror and detestation.

1579. April. At length, in the spring of 1579, having completed his visitation of the American coast by the plunder of the town of Guatulco, near Acapulco in Mexico, Drake considered it most prudent to direct his course towards England; and, fearing that he might be intercepted by the Spaniards if he should attempt to repass the straits of Magellan, he determined to cross the Pacific to the East Indies, and thence to continue his voyage around the Cape of Good Hope, to his country. With this view, he left Guatulco on the 16th of April; but instead of proceeding directly westward, which would have been his true line of navigation, he, for some reason not clearly shown in the accounts of his expedition, sailed towards the north, and on the 3d of June following had reached the 43d parallel of latitude. There his men began to suffer from cold; and his further progress appeared to be difficult, if not impossible, on account of the violence and constancy of the northwest winds. Under these circumstances, (whether from accident or intentionally is not certain,) he fell in with the American coast, and anchored near it. The place, however, proving insecure, he quitted it without landing, and sailed along the shore to the south, until he found a safe and commodious harbor about the 38th degree of latitude, in which he remained with his vessel from the 17th of June to the 23d of July.

June 17 to July 23. This period was spent by the English in repairing their vessel, and making other arrangements for the long voyage in prospect. The natives of the surrounding country, who came in crowds to the shore of the harbor, at first exhibited signs of hostile intentions. They were, however, soon conciliated by the kind and forbearing conduct of the strangers; and their respect for Drake increased to such an extent, that, when they saw him about to depart, they earnestly entreated him to remain among them as their king. The naval hero, though not disposed to undertake in person the duties of sovereignty over a tribe of naked savages, nevertheless "thought meet not to reject the crown; because he knew not what honor and profit it might bring to his own country. Wherefore, in the name and to the use of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the country into his hands; wishing that the riches and treasure thereof might

so conveniently be transported for the enriching of her kingdom 1579.
at home." The investiture accordingly took place with due ceremony; Drake bestowing upon the country thus legitimately added to the English dominions the name of *New Albion*, and erecting on the shore of the bay a monument with an inscription commemorative of the transfer.

The preparations for continuing the voyage having been completed, Drake quitted his new made fellow-subjects, to their great regret, on the 23d of July, and, steering directly across the Pa- July 23.
cific, reached the vicinity of the Philippine Islands in sixty-eight Sept. 30.
days; thence he pursued his course through the Indian seas, and around the southern extremity of Africa into the Atlantic, and arrived in England, with his booty undiminished, on the 25th of 1580.
September, 1580. Sept. 25.

With regard to the harbor on the northwest coast of America, in which the English repaired their vessel, nothing can be learned from the original accounts of their expedition, except that it was situated between the 38th and the 39th parallels of latitude; and that a group of small islands was found in the ocean, at a short distance from its mouth: whence we are led to conclude that it was either the *Bay of San Francisco*, or another bay a few miles farther north, now called *Port Bodega*, to each of which this description applies. As to the extent of the portion of that coast seen by Drake, the accounts are at variance. In the earliest and apparently the most authentic relations and notices of his voyage, the 43d degree of latitude is given as the northern limit of his course in the Pacific; while in others, of later date, and more questionable authority, it is maintained that he examined the whole shore of the continent from the 48th parallel to the 38th. Burney, in his History of Discoveries in the Pacific, (vol. i, page 356,) has devoted several pages to the subject. He there pronounces that "*the part of the American coast discovered by Drake is to be reckoned as beginning immediately north of Cape Mendocino, and extending to the 48th degree of north latitude;*" and this opinion has been since almost universally adopted. There are, however, strong reasons for rejecting the decision of Burney, whose review of the evidences in this, as in all cases in which his countrymen were concerned, is entirely *ex parte*. An exposition of these reasons would require more space than could be with propriety allotted to it in the body of this history; it has therefore been consigned to the Appendix, [A,] and the conclusion only will be here presented, which is: *that in all probability, the English under Drake, in 1579, saw no part of the west coast of America north of the 43d degree of latitude, to which parallel it had been discovered by Cabrillo and Ferrelo, in 1543.*

The success of Drake's enterprise encouraged other English 1580.
adventurers to attempt similar expeditions through the Strait of Magellan; and it likewise served to stimulate the navigators of that nation, in their efforts to discover northern passages of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Of their predatory excursions, none appear to have been attended with success, except that of the celebrated Thomas Cavendish, or Can-

1587. dish, who, during his circumnavigation of the globe, rendered his name almost as terrible to the Spaniards as that of Drake, by his ravages on the western coasts of America. In this voyage, Candish lay for some time near Cape San Lucas, the southern-
Nov. 15. most point of California, and there captured the *Santa Anna*, a Spanish ship, richly laden, on her way from Manilla to Acapulco, which he set on fire after plundering her and landing her crew on the coast. The miserable persons, thus abandoned in a desert country, must soon have perished, had not the hull of their vessel, after the extinction of the fire by the waves, been driven on shore in their vicinity; this carcass they contrived to repair, so as to render it sea-worthy, and, embarking in it, they succeeded in reaching a Mexican port. Among them was *Juan de Fuca*, a Greek pilot, of whose subsequent discoveries on the northwest coast of America an account will be given in the next following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Fabulous or uncertain accounts of voyages in the north Pacific—Apprehensions of the Spanish Government with regard to the discovery of northern passages between the Atlantic and the Pacific—Voyages of Fuca in 1592, and Vizcaino, in 1602—Establishments of the Jesuits in California—First colonies planted by the Spaniards on the western side of California, between 1769 and 1774.

During the latter years of the sixteenth and the first of the seventeenth centuries, the navigators of England were engaged in exploring the northwestern coasts of the Atlantic, in hopes of discovering some passage through which they might enter the Pacific, with less difficulty and loss of time than by sailing around the southern extremity of America. The Spanish Government was, as the historians of that period fully testify, much alarmed by these efforts of its most hated and most dangerous enemies to facilitate communications between the two seas; and the uneasiness thus occasioned was from time to time increased by rumors of the successful issue of voyages made for that purpose by subjects of various European nations. 1575 to 1632.

The earliest of these rumors related to the discovery supposed to have been made by the celebrated Portuguese, Gaspar de Cortereal, in 1500, of a passage called the *Strait of Anian*, uniting the two oceans, north of that part of America which was, and still is, known by the general name of Labrador. Cortereal did certainly, about the year last mentioned, explore the coasts of Newfoundland and those of the continent in its vicinity; and it is possible that he may also have penetrated through Hudson's Strait into Hudson's Bay, which he would then most naturally have considered as a western ocean. Whatever may have been the origin or basis of the rumor respecting the discovery of the Strait of Anian,* the Spaniards and other European nations long continued to be persuaded of its truth. Expeditions were made in search of the passage; and nearly all of those who pretended to have accomplished northern voyages between the Atlantic and the Pacific, asserted that they had sailed by way of the Strait of Anian.

The number of persons who claimed the merit of discovering navigable passages through or around the northern parts of Amer-

---

* The Strait of Anian was said to have been so named by Cortereal, after two brothers who sailed with him. The author of an article in the London Quarterly for October, 1816, conceives that the passage was more probably thus denominated, because the navigator "deemed it to be the *eastern* extremity of a strait, whose *western* end, opening into the Pacific, had already received that name." In order to show the value of this conception, it is only necessary to observe that Cortereal's voyage took place in 1500, and that the ocean on the western side of America was not discovered until thirteen years afterwards.

1575 to 1632. ica at the period here referred to, appears to have been considerable. The chroniclers of the time have preserved the names of several; and although their stories are now known to have been as false as those respecting the acquisition of the philosopher's stone, or the elixir of life, yet some of them should be noticed, on account of the influence which they exerted upon the progress of research in the northwestern part of the New World.

The most celebrated fable of this class, is the one of which a Portuguese, named *Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado*, is the hero. He is said to have sailed from the Atlantic, in 1588, through a strait communicating with that sea near the 62d degree of north latitude, into the Pacific, which he entered by a very narrow opening situated under the 60th parallel; having, in the course of this navigation, been obliged to proceed as far north as the 75th degree. This supposed voyage is mentioned by several Spanish authors of the seventeenth century. It was however forgotten, and remained in oblivion, until 1790, when it was again brought before the world by an eminent French geographer, M. Buache, who endeavored to establish the truth of the most material parts of the statement, in a memoir read by him before the Academy of Sciences of Paris. In consequence of his observations, the Spanish Government ordered the commanders of the vessels which were in that year sent to explore the northwest coasts of America, to search for the western extremity of the strait. They did so, but in vain; and it is now certain that no such passage exists. With regard to the origin of the story, Navarrete informs us that a person named Maldonado, an unprincipled adventurer, who had written some works on geography, presented to the Council of the Indies, in Spain, a narrative or memoir of a voyage which he pretended to have made at the time, and in the manner above related, accompanied by a petition that he might be rewarded for his discovery, and intrusted with the command of forces, in order to occupy and defend the passage against other nations. Navarrete adds, that this proposition was rejected by the Council, but that the papers respecting it were retained, and are still preserved among the Archives of the Indies. In 1812, Signor Carlo Amoretti, of Milan, found in the Ambrosian library a Spanish manuscript, purporting to be a copy of this same narrative or memoir, and published a translation of it in French, with notes and commentaries in support of the assertions of the writer. Whether the said manuscript be indeed a copy of that presented by Maldonado to the Spanish Government, or not, is a question as yet unsolved; and it is, moreover, a question which may as well remain without solution, as the subject no longer possesses any claim to attention. Equally useless is it at the present day to inquire whether or not this Maldonado* made a voyage in the

---

* The question as to the truth of the story of Maldonado's voyage is discussed in the introduction to the account of the expedition of the Sutil and Mexicana, and in the London Quarterly Review for October, 1816. The article in the Review is well written, but filled with inaccuracies in all that relates to the Pacific. The writer considers the account translated by Amoretti to be the fabrication of some German.

1575 to 1632. north Pacific as far as Beering's Strait, the discovery of which has been ascribed to him, upon evidence the most slender, supported by presumptions the most gratuitous.[*]

1640. No less destitute of truth is the story of the expedition of Admiral *Pedro Fonte*, from Peru to the Atlantic, through northern seas and rivers; which is, however, to be referred to a much later date than that of the voyage of Maldonado, as it first appeared in a periodical work entitled "*Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs of the Curious,*" published at London in June, 1708.[†] According to this story, the admiral sailed from Callao in April, 1640, to the north Pacific, where he discovered a group of islands near the American continent, named by him *Islas de San Lazaro*. Among these islands he proceeded 260 leagues, and then, in the latitude of 53 degrees, he entered a river called by him *Rio de los Reyes*, which he ascended in a northeasterly direction, penetrating the interior of America, until he reached a great lake containing many islands. There he left his ships, and going (in boats, we are to infer) down another river which flowed from the lake eastwardly, he at length came to a sea, where he found a large ship at anchor. She proved to be a trading-vessel from Boston, in Massachusetts; and her commander, Shapley, informed the admiral that he had arrived at his actual position by a northern course from that port. Being thus convinced of the existence of an uninterrupted connexion by water between the two oceans, across the northern section of America, the Spaniards returned to their ships, and then sailed back to Peru, through the Rio de los Reyes and the Pacific.

The above sketch of the supposed expedition of Admiral Fonte will be sufficient for present purposes. The original account is long, and is filled with confused and trifling details, the inconsistencies in which should have prevented it from receiving any credit. It was, however, for some time generally believed to be true, or partly true; and its probability was maintained so lately as in 1797, by the scientific Fleurieu, in his Introduction to the Narrative of Marchand's Voyage. The fact of the existence of a number of islands in the situation assigned to the Archipelago of San Lazaro, indeed, affords some reason for the assumption that the story may have been founded on discoveries really made in that part of the Pacific. Navarrete[‡] treats the whole account as an absurd fabrication; and takes the opportunity to defend the Government of his country from the charge brought against it by

---

[*] Viz: upon a passage in the Bibliotheca Hispana-Nova, of Nicolas Antonio, published in 1672, to the effect that the author had seen in the possession of a bishop, a manuscript account of the *discovery of the Strait of Anian*, by Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in 1588. This passage, and an abstract of the relation of Maldonado, taken from Amoretti's publication, may be found in Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. v, page 166; the abstract is in the appendix [B] to this memoir.

[†] The whole account of this pretended voyage may be found in Burney's History of Voyages in the Pacific, vol. iii, page 185; and in Dobbs's History of Hudson's Bay. The story belongs to the class of fictions now commonly called *hoaxes*.

[‡] Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 76.

Fleurieu, of concealing the results of attempts made by its orders to explore unknown seas and regions.

One other account of a supposed voyage from the Pacific to the Atlantic remains to be noticed; which should not, however, be classed with those above mentioned, although it is certainly erroneous as regards the most material point, and was probably known to be so by the original narrator. All the information as yet obtained respecting this voyage may be found in a note* or declaration written by Michael Lock, an English merchant or agent in the Levant trade, and published under his name, in 1625, in the celebrated geographical and historical collection called "the Pilgrims," by Samuel Purchas.

1592. From Mr. Lock's declaration, it appears that, in 1596, he met at Venice an aged Greek, calling himself *Apostolos Valerianos*, who stated, that he had been employed for more than forty years, under the name of *Juan de Fuca*, as seaman and pilot in the Spanish service; that he had been one of the crew of the Manilla ship Santa Anna, plundered by Cavendish near the coast of California, in 1587, on which occasion he had lost property of his own to the value of sixty thousand ducats; and that he had subsequently, in 1592, acted as pilot in a voyage, made by order of the Viceroy of Mexico, in search of "the Straights of Anian, and the passage thereof into the North sea." In this voyage, as he said, "he followed his course west and northwest, along the coasts of Mexico and California, as far as the 47th degree of latitude;" between which parallel and the 48th, he entered "a broad inlet of the sea, and, sailing therein more than twenty days, he found the land trending some time northwest and northeast, and north, and also east and southeast, and very much broader sea than was at the entrance; and he passed by divers islands in that sailing. Being entered thus far into the said straight, *and being come into the North sea* [the Atlantic] *already*, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, it being about thirty or forty leagues broad at the mouth of the straights where he entered, he thought he had well discharged his office, and, not being armed to resist savages, he set sail, and returned homeward again to Acapulco." The Greek added, that neither the Viceroy of Mexico nor the Spanish Government had rewarded him for this service, "and understanding of the noble mind of the Queen of England, and of her wars maintained so valiantly against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go to England and serve her Majesty in a voyage for the perfect discovery of the northwest passage into the South sea, and would put his life into her Majesty's hands, to perform the same, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons burthen, and a pinnace; and

---

*"A note made by me, Michael Lock the elder, touching the strait of sea commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South sea, through the northwest passage of Meta Incognita."—*Purchas's Pilgrims:* London, 1625, vol. iii, p. 849. The whole account will be found in the appendix [C] to this memoir.

that he would perform it, from one end of the straights to the other, in thirty days time." 1599.

Mr. Lock goes on to say that he had endeavored, in consequence, to interest the Government of his country in the affair; and had held correspondence on the subject with various eminent persons in England, as also with Juan de Fuca, from whom he gives the copy of a letter stating his readiness to engage in the proposed enterprise. The English Government, however, showed no willingness to favor the project; considering the whole story, probably, as a fabrication on the part of the old Greek for the purpose of advancing his own interests. The hundred pounds required in order to bring him to London could not be raised; and when Mr. Lock last heard of him, he was dying in the island of Cephalonia, in 1602.

These are the most material circumstances relative to Juan de Fuca, and his supposed discoveries in the northern seas, as recorded by Mr. Lock, and transmitted to us with the respectable endorsement of Purchas. Several English-writers of the same period allude to the subject, but they afford no additional particulars; and nothing whatsoever has hitherto been obtained from any other source, tending to prove directly that such a voyage was made, or that such a person as Juan de Fuca ever existed. The account appears to have obtained no credit in England; and to have been almost unknown out of that kingdom, until after the publication of the journals of the last expedition of Cook, (1785,) who conceived that he had, by his examinations on the northwest coast of America, ascertained its entire falsehood. Subsequent discoveries in that part of the world have, however, served to establish a strong probability in favor of the general correctness of the old Greek's assertions; inasmuch as they show that his geographical descriptions are as nearly conformable with the truth as those of any other navigator of his day. Thus Fuca says that between the 47th and 48th degrees of latitude he entered a broad inlet of sea, through which he sailed for twenty days, the land trending northwest and northeast, and north, and east and southeast; and that in his course he passed by numerous islands. Now the fact is, that, between the 48th and 49th parallels, *a broad inlet of sea* extends from the Pacific eastward, apparently penetrating the American continent, to the distance of about one hundred miles; after which, it turns northwest-by-west, and, continuing in that direction about two hundred and fifty miles farther, crossed and divided by many islands, it again communicates with the Pacific.

The discrepancies here to be observed are few and slight, and are certainly all within the limits of supposable error on the part of the Greek, especially when his advanced age, and the circumstance that he spoke only from recollection, are considered; while, on the other hand, the coincidences are too great and too striking to be fairly attributable to chance. Of those who have examined the subject, some have rejected the whole account given by the pilot as false; others, on the contrary, maintain not only that he performed the voyage as stated, but that he was even convinced of

1592. his having reached the Atlantic in the course of it. A mean between the two opinions* seems to be the most reasonable conclusion. It should be admitted that Fuca entered the strait now bearing his name, and that he may have passed entirely through it; but that he, an experienced navigator, should have conceived that by sailing *thirty leagues east, and then eighty leagues northwest-by-west*, he had arrived in the Atlantic, is wholly incredible.

This will suffice with regard to the voyage of Fuca, the truth or falsehood of which is, at the present day, a question of little or no moment.

Some reports of the discovery of a northern passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, and of the existence of rich nations in that direction, induced the Spanish Government, about the year 1595. 1595, to order that measures should be taken to ascertain the facts on those subjects. The Count de Monterey, Viceroy of Mexico, accordingly fitted out three vessels, which were despatched from 1596. Acapulco in the spring of 1596, under the command of Sebastian Vizcaino, a soldier well acquainted with marine affairs. Nothing important, however, was gained by this expedition. Vizcaino did not proceed beyond the limits of the Gulf of California; and, being disappointed in his attempts to form establishments on the shores of that sea, he returned to Mexico before the end of the same year.

1599. Sept. 27. Other and more peremptory orders for the immediate survey and settlement of the western coast of California were received by the Viceroy of Mexico, from Madrid, in 1599; and he, in consequence, began preparations for an expedition, on a greater and more complete scale of equipment than any of those previously made in that direction. Two large ships and a small vessel were provided for the purpose at Acapulco, and furnished with all the requisites for a long voyage of discovery; and, in addition to their regular crews, a number of pilots, priests, draughtsmen, and other proper persons, were engaged, composing, together, says Torquemada,† "the most enlightened corps ever raised in New Spain." The navigation was placed under the direction of Toribio Gomez de Corvan, as admiral; but the command of the whole force was intrusted to Sebastian Vizcaino, who bore the title of Captain General of California.

1602. May 5. June 12. The vessels sailed from Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, and, having reached the western side of California before the middle of the following month, the survey was immediately commenced from Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of the peninsula.

---

* It is needless to quote the opinions of Forster or Fleurieu, as they both wrote before the publication of the Journals of Vancouver, by whom the passage now called the Strait of Fuca was explored. Navarrete considers the account of the pilot's voyage false, *because* he can find no mention of it among the Archives of the Indies, or in the old Spanish historians; and Humboldt, as usual, contents himself with adopting the conclusions of Navarrete.

† Monarquia Indiana, vol. i, page 694. Torquemada's account is abridged from the journal of Friar Antonio de la Ascension, the chaplain of the admiral's ship. It contains little respecting the movements of the other two vessels.

1602. The prosecution of the undertaking was attended with great difficulties; the scurvy soon appeared in the squadron, and the Spaniards had their perseverance put to the test by the northwest winds, which almost constantly opposed their progress along the coast. Vizcaino, however, made the best use of the time which he was obliged to spend in harbors, by examining the shores and the adjacent inland territories; and he thus collected a large amount of valuable information on those subjects, in the form of notes, plans, and sketches, which are said to lie still mouldering among the archives of the Spanish Government.*

Dec. By the beginning of December, after their departure from Acapulco, the ships had advanced no farther north than the 32d degree of latitude, near which a good harbor was found, and named *Port San Diego*. Proceeding onwards, they reached another harbor under the 37th parallel, combining, in the opinion of Vizcaino, every requisite for the maintenance of a colony, and for the supply and repairs of vessels on their way from India to Mexico. On this place he bestowed the name of *Monterey*, in honor of the Viceroy, to whom he immediately sent letters by one of his ships, urging the establishment of colonies and garrisons at several points indicated.

From Monterey, the remaining ship in which Vizcaino sailed 1603.
with the admiral, and the small vessel commanded by ensign
Martin de Aguilar, departed on the 3d of January, 1603, and by
the 7th they had reached the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, when
they were driven back by a violent gale, during which they were
separated. The ship took refuge in the Bay of San Francisco, Jan. 10.
where search was made in vain for the wreck of the San Augustin, which had been lost there while on her voyage from Manilla,
in 1595;† she, however, soon got to sea again, and, passing be- Jan. 13.
yond Cape Mendocino, was for several days tossed about at random by the storms. On the 20th of January she was opposite a Jan. 20.
high white promontory, which received the name of *Cape Blanco de San Sebastian*, and was found by a solar observation to be in the latitude of 42 degrees. By this time there were but six persons on board capable of doing duty; and as the small vessel did not appear, Vizcaino, with the assent of the other officers, resolved to direct his course towards the south. This was accordingly done, and the ship entered Acapulco on the 21st of March, with only three effective men among her crew.

Jan. 19. The small vessel, after her separation from the ship, sailed northward for some distance along the coast, as far as the latitude of 43 degrees, "where," says Torquemada, "the land forms a cape or point, which was called *Cape Blanco*, and from which the coast begins to run to the northwest; and near it was found a rapid and abundant river, with ash trees, willows, brambles, and

---

* Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 68. A chart of the west coast of California, as far north as Cape Mendocino, was compiled from these documents, of which a copy may be found in the atlas of the work above mentioned.

† As before mentioned at page 34.

1603. other Castilian trees, on its banks; but it could not be entered on account of the strength of its current." From this point Aguilar turned to the south; his vessel reached Acapulco, but he and all the other officers, and many of the men, died of scurvy on the voyage thither.

Considerable doubts have been cast, and not without reason, upon the accuracy of the account of Aguilar's discoveries beyond Cape Mendocino. It is certainly incorrect on one point, for we know that the coast does not "begin to turn towards the north-west" at the 43d degree of latitude, or at any other point between Cape Mendocino and the 47th degree. Moreover, it is scarcely credible that Aguilar should, at so stormy a season, and with so inefficient a crew, have ventured so near to a lee shore, entirely unknown to him, as to be able to distinguish, *without a glass*,* the species of the trees growing on it. The great river which he is said to have found about the 43d degree of latitude has not yet been identified; although several streams, none of them large, do certainly enter the Pacific near that parallel. The account of the discovery of this river has attracted much more attention than it merited, or than the unfortunate Aguilar (if he actually saw such a stream) could have anticipated, in consequence of an idle opinion expressed, or rather recorded, by Torquemada, that it might prove to be the long-sought Strait of Anian, or might lead to the wealthy city of Quivira, believed to exist in that part of the world. The Cape Blanco mentioned as the northern limit of Aguilar's progress along the coast, is supposed by Cook to be a remarkable promontory, situated under the 43d parallel, to which the English navigator, however, did not scruple to apply the name of *Cape Gregory*. In like manner, Vancouver has bestowed the appellation of *Cape Orford* upon another great projection from the continent, near the 42d degree, although he considered it to be identical with the Cape Blanco de San Sebastian of Vizcaino.

Upon comparing the accounts of this expedition with those of the voyage of Cabrillo, in 1542–'3, it will be seen that the same, or nearly the same, portions of the west coast of America, were observed on both occasions; and that Vizcaino, consequently, did no more than survey minutely what had been already discovered by his predecessors.

Vizcaino endeavored, after his return to Mexico, to prevail upon the Viceroy to establish colonies and garrisons at San Diego, Monterey, and other points on the coast which he had surveyed, for the purpose of facilitating the trade with India, as well as to prevent the occupation of that coast by other nations. His efforts being unavailing in Mexico, he went to Spain, where he finally
1606. obtained from King Philip III. royal orders for the execution of his projects. He, however, unfortunately died in Mexico in
1609. 1609, while engaged in preparing for the enterprise; and no farther measures were taken, either by individual Spaniards or by their

---

* The invention of the telescope took place in 1609.

Government, to settle the west coast of California, or to extend the 1609.
limits of discovery in that direction, until 160 years afterwards.

This part of America remained, in the mean time, almost forgotten, except by persons engaged in the navigation from India to Mexico, who were obliged to make themselves acquainted with the situation of the principal headlands and islands* south of Cape Mendocino. One of these navigators brought to Mexico, in 1620.
1620, an account of a channel which he pretended to have discovered near the 43d parallel of latitude, connecting the Gulf of California with the Pacific; and, as this statement corresponded with that of the discovery of a great river at the same position by Martin de Aguilar, it was readily received as true. Accordingly, in all maps of this part of the world, published during the remainder of the seventeenth century, California is represented as an island, separated from the continent by a strait.† The error was corrected in 1700 by Father Kuhn, (or Kino, as the Spaniards write his name,) a German Jesuit, who explored the region about the northern extremity of the gulf.

Shortly after the period of Vizcaino's expedition, the French, 1607.
the English, and the Dutch, successively established colonies on the Atlantic side of North America, as well as in the West Indies, where the English and French already held some possessions; and geographical discoveries were also about the same time made by the navigators of those nations, which were, or appeared to be, seriously prejudicial to the interests of Spain in the New World. Thus, Henry Hudson ascertained the existence of the great in- 1600.
terior sea north of Canada, from which it was confidently expected that some passage to the Pacific would be speedily found; and Lemaire and Van Schouten entered that ocean through the open sea, south of the promontory, which, in honor of their native city in Holland, they called Cape Horn. The navigation between the Atlantic and the Pacific was so much facilitated by the latter

---

* In a work printed at Manilla in 1712, called "Navegacion Especulativa y Practica," minute directions are given for sailing along this part of the American coast.

† In the curious map of North America, at page 854 of the 3d volume of Purchas's Pilgrimage, published in 1625, the sea is represented between California and the continent, as far north as the 45th degree. On this map are laid down, by name, Cape Blanco, Cape San Sebastian, and many other points discovered by Vizcaino. In the geographical and historical atlas of Mitchell and Senex, published at London in 1721, California appears as an island, extending from Cape San Lucas to the 45th degree of latitude; the northernmost part of the island is called Nova Albion. North of it are placed a number of small islands, near the continent, with the names of Quisiento, Colnbra, Wanguino, Maquino, &c., affixed to them. Whence were these names derived?

A veteran buccanier, Captain Coxton, who flourished in the latter part of the 17th century, asserted that he had, in 1688, discovered a river emptying into the Pacific from the American continent, north of Cape Mendocino, up which he had sailed into a great interior sea called the *Lake of Thoyaga*, containing many islands, inhabited by a numerous and warlike population. This lake may be found on several old maps of that part of North America; for instance, in the atlas of Mitchell and Senex, above mentioned. Northwest America was indeed at that time the *terra incognitissima*. Bacon laid the scene of his *Atlantis* there; and *Brobdignag*, according to the very exact account of its discoverer, Captain Lemuel Gulliver, was situated immediately north of the Strait of Fuca, about the 50th parallel of latitude. The position of *Utopia* (or *no where*) is not clearly expressed in the narrative of Master Ralph Hythloday; but it seems to have been near California.

1600. discovery, that voyages to the western side of America were no longer considered as dangerous enterprises; and the Spanish commerce on those coasts was almost ever afterwards harassed by pirates, or *quasi* pirates, of various classes and denominations. The Gulf of California was, during the seventeenth century, the principal resort and rendezvous for these depredators, especially for those from Holland, who, under the name of *Pichilings*, kept the inhabitants of the southern coasts of Mexico in constant anxiety.

For the purpose of protecting these coasts from such inflictions, as well as of obtaining advantage from the pearl-fishery on the eastern side of California, several attempts were made by the Government, as well as by individuals and companies in Mexico, to establish garrisons, colonies, and trading-posts in that peninsula.* 1616 to 1684. Of the expeditions thus made, it is needless here to relate the particulars, as they are unconnected with the principal subject of this memoir; suffice it to say, that they all terminated unfortunately, from want of funds, from the barrenness of the country and the hostility of its inhabitants, and, above all, from the indolence and viciousness of the persons sent out as colonists. The last of these expeditions made by command of the Spanish Government was under the direction of Don Isidro de Otondo, who, in 1683, conducted from Mexico a number of soldiers, settlers, and priests, of the order of the Jesuits, and distributed them at various points on the western side of the Californian gulf; the colonies, however, all disappeared within a few months after they had been planted, and it was then resolved by a council of the principal authorities of Mexico that the reduction of California by such means was impracticable.

1685. The Jesuits who had accompanied Otondo in his expedition, while concurring with the council in its opinion, nevertheless insisted that the object might be attained by another course, viz: by the conversion to Christianity and civilization of the natives of that part of America, which task they offered themselves to undertake. Their proposition met with little encouragement from the heads of the government in Mexico. Being, however, not disheartened, the fathers perambulated the whole kingdom, preaching and exhorting the authorities and the people to aid them in the prosecution of an enterprise so pious and so politic. By such means, and by the co-operation of their brethren in Spain, they 1697. raised a small fund, and finally, in 1697, procured royal warrants authorizing them to undertake the reduction of California *for the King*, and to do every thing which might be necessary for that purpose, *at their own expense*. On receiving these warrants, Father Oct. Salvatierra, the principal missionary, sailed with a few soldiers and laborers to the land which was to be the scene of their operations, where he was soon joined by Fathers Kuhn, (or *Kino*, as

---

* Accounts of these expeditions may be found in the History of California, by Father Venegas; and in Navarrete's Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana.

1697. the Spaniards call him,) Picolo, Ugarte, and others, all men of education and courage, zealously devoted to the business before them.

On arriving in California, the Jesuits had to encounter the same obstacles and difficulties which had rendered vain all previous attempts to form establishments in that region. They were attacked by the natives, to whose enmity several of the fathers fell victims; their own men were insubordinate, and were generally more inclined to fish for pearls, than to engage in the regular labors required for the support of settlers in a new country; and their operations were for some time confined within the narrowest limits, by the want of funds. Their brethren and friends in Spain occasionally obtained orders for small sums from the Government for their use; but the Mexican treasury, on which these orders were drawn, was seldom able to meet them when presented,* and the value of the assistance thus afforded was in all cases much diminished before it reached those for whom it was intended.

1697 to 1768. By perseverance and kindness, however, the Jesuits triumphed over all these difficulties. Within a short time after their entrance into California, they founded several stations or missions; and before the middle of the last century, their establishments extended, at short distances apart, along the whole eastern side of the peninsula, from the mouth of the Colorado in the north, to Cape San Lucas. Each of these stations contained a church, a small fort, and a storehouse; and it formed the centre of a district, in which the Indians were induced, by the most gentle means, to labor regularly for their own support, to live at peace among themselves, and to receive instruction in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion. To these ends were the efforts of the fathers exclusively directed, immigration from other countries being always discouraged by them. That their exertions in this way were calculated to produce temporary good, cannot be denied, as the individual objects of them must have been rendered more happy and comfortable than they would have otherwise been; but it appears to be equally certain, that neither the Jesuits nor any other missionaries have ever succeeded in fitting a Californian Indian to become a useful member of society.

These missionaries, likewise, exerted themselves assiduously in acquiring a knowledge of the geography, natural history, languages, &c., of the country which they had taken under their charge; and so far as regards the middle and eastern parts of the peninsula, and the region farther north, watered by the Colorado and the Gila, nearly all the information which we now possess has been derived through the labors of the Jesuits. Respecting the western side of the peninsula they added little or nothing to the stock of knowledge, all their efforts to examine that portion having been unsuccessful. One of the most material points as-

---

* It appears, from the History of California, by Venegas, (part 3, section 4,) that in 1702 the Mexican treasury was exhausted by the expenses of expeditions for the conquest of Texas, and for establishing forts and garrisons at Pensacola, and other places on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

1697 to 1768. certained by them was the fact of the connexion of California with the American continent, which, after having been doubted or denied for almost a century, was completely established by Father Kuhn, an indefatigable German, in 1700.

The results of these researches were communicated to the world, from time to time, through the medium of a periodical publication, entitled "*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères*," (Edifying and Curious Letters written from the Foreign Missions,) which was conducted at Paris by Jesuits, for several years, from 1716. But the most complete account of California,* to 1750, is to be found in the *Natural and Civil History* of that country, generally attributed to Father Miguel Venegas, though now known to have been composed chiefly by another priest of the order, named Andres Marcos Burriel. Respecting this work, which appeared originally at Madrid in 1757, and has been since translated into all the principal European languages, it may be here observed, that the portions dedicated to the labors of the Jesuits are highly interesting, and that they bear with them the marks of truth; but that the notices of events which occurred prior to the entrance of the missionaries into the country are often at variance with those given by the older writers, and sometimes evidently erroneous. The observations of the author upon the policy of the Spanish Government towards its American dominions are replete with wisdom, and indicate more liberality, as well as boldness on his part, than could have been reasonably expected, considering the circumstances under which he wrote and published.

The Jesuits received, as before mentioned, little assistance from the Spanish Government in the prosecution of their plans with regard to California. That Government, indeed, was not only at all times disinclined to favor projects from which no immediate increase of its revenues or political strength could be anticipated, but was also particularly jealous and mistrustful as to the proceedings of the Jesuits in the New World. Suspicions were entertained at Madrid that those proceedings were not dictated solely by philanthropic and religious motives; but that the body aspired to the separation and exclusive control of many portions, if not of the whole, of the Spanish empire in America. These suspicions became stronger as the influence of the Jesuits increased; the power possessed, or believed to be possessed, by their order, however, preserved them for some time from any direct open attack on the part of the Government. 1767. At length, in 1767, a royal decree was issued by King Charles III. for their expulsion from his dominions; it was executed without difficulty,† and the

---

* "*Noticia de la California y de su Conquista, sacada de la historia manuscrita del Padre Miguel Venegas, y de otras noticias.*" ("Account of California, and of its conquest, drawn from the manuscript history of Father Miguel Venegas, and from other sources.") The English translation, published in 1759, is miserable.

† A large military force was sent from Mexico, for the purpose of dislodging the Jesuits in California. Gaspar de Portola, the commander of this expedition, is said to have been much ashamed and mortified on finding that his efforts were directed only against a few old priests, and their half-starved simple Indian converts.

1767. missionaries in California were obliged, at a moment's warning, to quit forever the establishments which they had so long and so sedulously been engaged in rearing.

1769. In 1769, immediately after the expulsion of the Jesuits from California, the Spaniards established the first colony and garrison on the western coast of that territory. This measure was effected in prosecution of a scheme of reform and defence, which had been devised at Madrid, with the view of rendering the trans-Atlantic dominions of Spain more profitable to the mother country, and more dependent upon its authority; as well as of securing them against apprehended encroachments of foreign nations.

1603 to 1769. Since the days of Sebastian Vizcaino, who had so strenuously recommended the settlement of this part of America, the Spanish power had, from a variety of causes, been constantly declining. On the Atlantic side of the New World several valuable territories, which had long been occupied by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, as well as others to which his claims were less obvious, had passed into the hands of his bitterest foes; and although his authority was still undisputed on the western side of the continent, yet his pretensions to the exclusive dominion of the Pacific had become obsolete. The buccaneers had led the way into that ocean. They were followed by the armed squadrons of Great Britain and Holland, with one or other of which nations Spain was almost incessantly at war; and, during the short intervals of peace, came the exploring ships of those Powers and of France, whose voyages of discovery were always regarded by the Court of Madrid as ominous of evil to its American colonies. The results of these exploring expeditions were communicated to the world without delay, and in the most full and authentic manner possible; the journals of the respective navigators being published immediately after their return, illustrated by charts, tables, and drawings, affording accurate ideas of the objects and events described. New channels of commercial intercourse were thus opened to all; and new principles of national law, adverse to the subsistence of the monopolies enforced by Spain, were gradually introduced and adopted by the other maritime Powers of Europe.*

After the peace of 1763, the exploring voyages of the French and British were more frequent, and were conducted in a manner which gave to them distinctly the characters of political movements. The irritation and jealousy which they occasioned at Madrid were still farther increased upon the establishment of colonies, by each of the abovementioned nations, among the islands of the Falkland group, at the very threshold of the Pacific. The French Government, indeed, soon withdrew its subjects from 1764 to 1766.

---

* "Sir Benjamin Keene, one of the ablest foreign ministers this country ever had, (he was ambassador from Great Britain to the Court of Madrid from 1754 to 1757,) used to say, that if the Spaniards vexed us in the first instance, we had means enough to vex them without infringing upon treaties; and the first step he would recommend would be, to send out ships of discovery to the South seas."—*Lord Lansdowne's speech in Parliament on the Convention with Spain; delivered December 13, 1790. Parliamentary History*, vol. xxvii, page 944.

1764 to 1766. those islands, at the request of the King of Spain; the British cabinet, however, disregarded all hints and remonstrances respecting its alleged encroachments upon the territories of his Catholic Majesty, and there were strong indications of designs on its part to invade other portions of those territories in a similar manner. 1763 to 1768. The exploring ships had confined themselves to the southern and intertropical parts of the ocean; there was, however, no reason for expecting that they would not in time advance towards the shores of the north Pacific, where their presence could not but be injurious to the interests and security of the Spanish dominions.

Serious grounds for apprehensions on the part of the Spanish Government were also afforded by the Russians, whose discoveries and settlements on the northernmost coasts of the Pacific were about that time beginning to attract the attention of other European nations. Of these proceedings little was known with certainty, except that the Russians had built vessels on the eastern side of Asia, and had discovered extensive territories beyond the sea which bathes those shores. Whether the territories thus found were islands, or parts of Asia or of America, and whether those continents were or not united in the north, were questions then undetermined. The fact that this ambitious and enterprising Power had formed establishments on the Pacific, was sufficient to create alarms at Madrid; which were rendered more serious by the knowledge, afterwards obtained, that new armaments on a large scale were in preparation at Kamschatka.

1765. In order to avert the evils thus supposed to be impending, the Spanish Government devised a series of measures, which were to be successively applied as circumstances might seem to indicate or to allow. Of these measures, one of the principal objects was the occupation and settlement of the vacant territories of America bordering upon the ocean; to effect which, endeavors were made without delay. In the beginning of 1768, orders were given to the Viceroy of Mexico to have those coasts explored as far northward as it might be practicable to advance; and at the same time to establish colonies upon them, sufficiently near each other for mutual support, in case of need, against savages or foreigners. The execution of these orders was committed chiefly to Don Jose de Galvez, a high officer of the Council of the Indies, who had been sent to Mexico in 1765 to superintend the application of the new measures in the northern section of Spanish America.

1768. The west coast of America had at that time been discovered only as far north as the 43d degree of latitude—that is to say, as far north as Sebastian Vizcaino had sailed in 1603; and all the information concerning it, being derived from the accounts of the old navigators, amounted to little more than descriptions of harbors and promontories south of that parallel. Upon examining the manuscripts of Vizcaino relating to his voyage, notices and charts were found of several places upon this coast, which he considered well adapted for settlements; and, in consequence of his recommendations, it was determined by the Viceroy and Galvez that the first establishments should be made at the spots

which had received from this discoverer the names of *San Diego* 1768.
and *Monterey*.

Great difficulties were to be overcome in order to carry this determination into effect. Few persons could be found in Mexico willing to subject themselves to the fatigues and privations attending the settlement of a new country; and it was not easy to procure on the Pacific side of the kingdom such vessels as would be required for the transportation of men and materials to the designated points on the northwest coast. At length, however, before the close of the year, a small number of persons, consisting of priests, soldiers, and colonists, were assembled at one of the missionary stations on the eastern coast of California, called *La Paz*, from which place they began their march through the peninsula, for San Diego, in two parties, respectively conducted by Gaspar de Portola, the governor of the new province, and Fernando de Rivera, a captain in the army.

The arms, ammunition, provisions, and materials for the colo- 1769.
nies were sent around to San Diego in two vessels, one of which,
the San Antonio, reached that place on the 11th of April, 1769; April 11.
the other vessel, the San Carlos, was driven far out to the westward,
and was unable to enter her destined port until the end of the same April 29.
month. Of a third vessel, the San Jose, which had also been despatched for the west coast, nothing was ever heard. The parties of emigrants who had proceeded by land from La Paz, under
Portola and Rivera, successively arrived during May; and a con- May.
venient spot having been selected on the shore of the harbor, a town was laid out and buildings were commenced.

Portola, being anxious in like manner to found a settlement at
Monterey before the winter, set off for that place in June, with a June 14.
portion of the emigrants and soldiers; leaving directions at San Diego that a vessel, which was expected with supplies from Mexico, should be despatched to meet him at the other harbor. This expedition was not successful. The Spaniards, marching along or near the coast towards the north, overshot Monterey, and at
the end of October found themselves on the shores of the Bay of Oct. 30.
San Francisco, which they recognised by means of the high white cliffs at its entrance. Turning towards the south, they found a port corresponding with that described by Vizcaino
under the name of Monterey; but the cold weather had set in, Nov. 28.
and, the vessel not appearing with the supplies, they were obliged to retrace their steps to San Diego, where they arrived on the 24th of January, 1770.[*]

In the spring of 1770 the San Antonio returned to San Diego 1770.

---

[*] An account of the establishment of the first colonies on the west coast of California was drawn up by Don Miguel Costanso, the engineer of the expedition, and published at Mexico in the latter part of 1770; but it was immediately suppressed by the Government. Fortunately, however, a copy of the work was carried to England, where a translation was made from it and published in 1790. This translation is accompanied by other useful articles with regard to the northwest coast, and by several maps and plans of harbors in that part of America. The work is in the library of Congress. Much information on the same subject is also afforded by Father Francisco Palou, in his Life of Father Junipero Serra, a Franciscan friar, who was the chief of the missionaries to California in 1768.

1770. with supplies from Mexico, in consequence of which Governor Portola determined to make another effort to form an establishment at Monterey. He accordingly marched for that place, where he was joined by the vessel with the supplies before the end of May; and having succeeded in completing the most necessary arrangements for the shelter and support of the settlers during the winter, he himself proceeded to Mexico to superintend the despatch of emigrants to the colonies.

It was in prosecution of this plan for securing the unsettled territories of America adjoining the Spanish dominions from occupation by foreigners, that Don Francisco Bucareli, the Governor of Buenos Ayres, in June, 1770, forcibly expelled the British colonists from their establishment, called Port Egmont, in the Falkland Islands. June 10. This event occasioned serious difficulties between the Governments of Great Britain and Spain, and preparations for war were made upon both sides; negotiations were, however, at the same time carried on, and the affair was at length arranged without recourse to arms, in a manner not wholly unsatisfactory to Spain. The history of these transactions has never yet been fully communicated to the world. From what has been published officially, added to the information obtained from various* other sources, the circumstances appear to have been as follows:

Sept. 12. As soon as the news of the expulsion of the settlers reached London, the British Secretary of State, Lord Weymouth, addressed to the Court of Madrid demands for the immediate disavowal on its part of the acts of the Governor of Buenos Ayres, and for the restitution of the islands in the condition in which they were before those acts took place. To these demands the Spanish Government at first gave evasive answers, endeavoring to change the question at issue into one respecting the right of sovereignty over the islands; but the British ministry refused to treat upon this subject until the disavowal and restitution had been made as required; and preparations for large armaments were begun throughout Great Britain. The Spanish ambassador at London next declared himself empowered by his Sovereign to state that no *particular orders* had been given to the Governor of Buenos Ayres with regard to the Falkland Islands, although that officer had acted agreeably to his *general instructions and oath* in expelling the British; and that Port Egmont should be restored as demanded. This offer was, however, also rejected as unsatisfactory by Lord Weymouth; and war appeared inevitable. Dec.

In this conjuncture, the King of Spain applied to his cousin Louis XV. of France for aid, agreeably to the Family Compact, in order that he might resist the demands of Great Britain. France was, however, at that time in a very disturbed state; in consequence of which, Louis declined entering as a party into 1770. the dispute, though he at the same time tendered his good offices as a mediator between the two Powers.* To this offer the Spanish Government acceded; and the King of France was thereupon immediately requested to take the whole matter under his charge, and to make any arrangement which he might consider proper for the interests and honor of Spain. In the mean time, a change had occurred in the composition and views of the British ministry. Lord Weymouth, being unwilling to recede from his first demands, and finding his colleagues averse to a war with Spain, had retired from office, and his successor, Lord Rochford, Dec. 12. was ready to compromise the affair. The offer of mediation on the part of France was, therefore, accepted by the Court of London; and a definitive arrangement of the dispute was effected on 1771. the day of the meeting of Parliament. Jan. 22.

---

* Parliamentary History, vols. xvi and xxviii; Dodsley's Annual Register for 1771, page 248; Belsham's History of Great Britain, vol. v, pages 368 to 371—particularly a note at the last cited page. The account given by this writer is perhaps the clearest which has yet been presented. See also an article on the Character of Lord Chatham, in the Edinburgh Review, No. 136, for July, 1838, page 446.

On that day the Spanish ambassador at London, Prince Masserano, presented to Lord Rochford a *Declaration*, in the name of the King of Spain, to the effect that his Catholic Majesty, being desirous to maintain peace with Great Britain, disavowed the acts of violence committed by the Governor of Buenos Ayres, and engaged to restore to his Britannic Majesty and his subjects "the port and fort of Egmont in the Falkland Islands, with all the artillery, stores, and effects, precisely as they were before the 10th of June, 1770;" but at the same time it was declared that this disavowal and engagement *"cannot nor ought in anywise to affect the question of prior right of sovereignty of the Falkland Islands."* The Earl of Rochford, in return, presented an *Acceptance*, in which, after recapitulating the paragraph of the *Declaration* relating to the disavowal and engagements to make restitution, he stated that "his Britannic Majesty would look upon the said declaration, together with the performance of said engagement, as a satisfaction for the injury done to the Crown of Great Britain;" *he, however, made no allusion whatever to the reservation respecting the right of sovereignty to the territory restored.*

In execution of this engagement, the British colonists were replaced at Port Egmont, as soon as it had been restored to the condition in which it was before the seizure; they were, however, withdrawn in 1774, by order of their own Government, and the 1774. Falkland Islands having thus been freed from the presence of all other Europeans, were occupied by the Spaniards, who retained them until South America became independent. This abandon-

---

* The celebrated treaty between the Monarchs of France and Spain, called the *Pacte de Famille*, was signed at Paris on the 15th of August, 1761. By the first article, their Majesties declare that "the two Crowns will henceforth consider every Power as their common enemy, which shall become the enemy of either of them;" by the second article, they "reciprocally guaranty, in the most absolute and authentic manner, all the estates, lands, islands, and places which they possess in any part of the world." Other articles fix the amount of "the first succors which the Power requested shall be obliged to furnish to the Power requesting." This treaty was virtually annulled by the National Assembly of France, in August, 1790; having been almost a dead letter during the whole period in which it was supposed to have been in force.

1771. ment by Great Britain of a territory which had formed the subject of such serious difficulties between her Government and that of Spain, was justified by the British ministry on the ground that no advantages were derived or expected from the colony sufficient to compensate the costs of maintaining it. The Spaniards, however, have always asserted, and their assertion is supported by the opinions of distinguished British historians and statesmen, *that the evacuation of the islands took place in execution of an express though secret engagement to that effect, entered into by Lord Rochford at the time of the arrangement of the dispute.**

The Spanish Government considered the result of this dispute as advantageous, upon the whole, to the security of its American possessions; regarding the concessions made by itself as more than compensated by the indirect admission of its assumed rights of sovereignty over the unsettled territories adjoining those dominions. Indeed, those concessions were little else than diplomatic courtesies. The spot occupied by the British colonists was restored only to be soon after abandoned; and Bucareli, notwithstanding the censure cast upon him in the disavowal of his conduct, was continued in command at Buenos Ayres until that evacuation took place, after which he was raised to the lucrative and dignified station of Viceroy of Mexico.

The same opinions with regard to the concessions of the Spanish King prevailed very generally in Great Britain, as soon as they were made known. The arrangement was severely criticised, and the ministry were reprehended† for concluding it, both in and out of Parliament; and the consciousness that these opinions were just, rendered the British Government more severe and uncompromising in its exactions from Spain upon the occasion of the dispute respecting Nootka Sound in 1790. The similarity of the circumstances which led to these two disputes, and the identity of the principles maintained by each party at both periods, rendered it proper to introduce the foregoing accounts and observations respecting the difficulties between Spain and Great

---

* Governor Pownal, in the debate in Parliament, March 5th, 1771, (see Parliamentary History, vol. xvi, page 1394,) on his motion for censuring the ministry on account of the arrangement with Spain, says: "Without some such idea as this, namely, that *as soon as reparation is made to our honor for the violent and hostile manner in which we were driven off the island, and as soon as we are put in a situation to evacuate it on our own motion, it is tacitly understood we are to cede it*—without some such idea as this, the whole of the negotiation is inexplicable and unintelligible." To this no reply was made on the part of the ministry.

† In the debate in the House of Peers upon the address approving the arrangement with Spain, Lord Chatham used this language: "There never was a more odious or more infamous falsehood imposed upon a great nation. It degrades the King; it insults the Parliament. His Majesty has been advised to affirm an absolute falsehood. My Lords, I beg your attention; and I hope to be understood when I repeat that it is an absolute falsehood. The King of Spain disowns the thief, while he leaves him unpunished and profits by his theft." In the protest against the arrangement entered into in the House of Lords by Lords Chatham, [illegible], and other eminent members, it is averred that in the declaration and acceptance "no claim on the part of his Majesty to the right of sovereignty to any part of the island ceded to him has been advanced; and any assertion whatsoever of his Majesty's right of sovereignty has been cautiously avoided from the beginning to the end," &c. See Junius's letter of January 30, 1771; and Johnson's Defence of the Ministry, which is generally supposed to have been dictated by Lord North.

1774. Britain in 1770; otherwise they would have been out of place in this memoir.

1771 to 1779. The issue of this dispute served to impress the Spanish Government still more strongly with the conviction of the necessity of occupying the vacant coasts adjoining its American provinces, either effectively, or in such a manner as to afford at least the semblance of right to the exclusive possession of them. Efforts with this view were accordingly made on the shores of Texas, Mosquito, Patagonia, and California; and were continued at a great expense, though with little success, until 1779, when the war between Spain and Great Britain occasioned their suspension.

The settlements of the Spaniards on the west coast of California were, and continued to be until within a few years past, little more than missionary stations under the direction of Franciscan friars; some of them were, however, styled *Presidios*, in virtue of their possessing mud forts garrisoned by a few miserable soldiers. The most northern of these establishments was that on the Bay of San Francisco, founded in 1776; the residence of the Governor was, and still is, at Monterey.*

1772. The British Government, on its part, although abandoning the Falkland Islands, still persevered in endeavoring to have the Pacific minutely explored. For this purpose, Captain Cook was despatched on his second voyage around the world, from which he returned in 1775; having in the mean time made many important discoveries, and completely disproved the rumors, based upon the declarations of the Spanish navigator Quiros in 1607, respecting the existence of a habitable continent south of the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

1774 to 1779. In 1774 and 1775 the northwest coast of America was explored by Spanish navigators between the 43d degree of latitude, the limit of preceding discoveries from the south, and the 58th; and in 1778 and 1779 the remaining portions, as far north as the Arctic Sea, were examined by the British, under Cook and his successors in command. Before relating these important occurrences, it will be convenient to present a view of the discoveries which had been made by the Russians in the northernmost parts of the Pacific, as the objects and movements of the other two nations, with regard to this section of the world, will thereby be rendered more easily intelligible.

---

* For statistical accounts of these establishments, as they existed at the beginning of the present century, see Humboldt's Essay on New Spain.

CHAPTER III.

Voyages of discovery and trade in the northernmost parts of the Pacific made by the Russians from Kamschatka and Ochotsk, between 1728 and 1779—Voyages of Beering and Tschirikof—Establishment of the fur trade between Asiatic Russia and the opposite coasts and islands of America—Voyages of Synd, Krenitzin, Levasheff, and Benyowsky.

Before the beginning of the eighteenth century, the coasts of Asia bordering upon the Pacific, north of the 40th degree of latitude, were as little known as those of America beyond the same parallel. At that time, the only information respecting the former territories was derived from the reports of Martin Geritzen de Vries, a Dutch navigator, who had in 1643 explored the seas north of Japan as far as the 48th degree, and had doubtless entered the gulf bounded by the Kurile Islands and Kamschatka on the east, which is now called the Sea of Ochotsk. In the best maps,[*] published as lately as 1720, Jesso, the most northern of the Japanese islands, is represented as part of the continent of Asia; while the Kurile group are laid down as a continuous territory, under the name of *the Company's land*, separated from Jesso by a passage called the *Strait of Vries.*

1696. Such was the state of geographical knowledge with regard to the northeastern coasts of Asia in 1696, when the Cossacks, who had been sent by Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, to explore and conquer the northern parts of that continent, discovered Kamschatka, and penetrated to the shores of the Pacific. Within the ensuing fifteen years, Kamschatka and the whole region intervening between it and Europe were definitively attached to the Russian empire.

From these conquests the Russians acquired, among other advantages, an extension of their commercial intercourse with China, which thus in a short time became very important. The principal articles of export to that country were the skins and furs[†] of animals, which were obtained either in Siberia and Kamschatka, or by way of England from Hudson's Bay; in return, the Russians brought from China its teas, silks, porcelain, and other precious commodities. This commercial intercourse was effected by means of caravans passing over land to and from certain points

---

[*] See historical and geographical atlas of Mitchell and Senex, published at London in 1620.

[†] Furs have been at all periods highly prized in China as objects of comfort and luxury. In the northern provinces they are used as defences against cold; while throughout the empire they constitute an important part of the dress of every rich noble or ostentatious person. "With the least change of air," says Krusenstern, "the Chinese immediately alter their dress; and even at Canton, which is under the tropic, they wear furs in the winter."

in each empire; and when we consider the immense distance, 1696.
and the difficulties of the journey between the commercial cities of European Russia and those of China, it becomes evident that none but objects of great value, in comparison to their bulk, could have been thus transported with profit to those engaged.

The possession of these vast regions only served to inspire the 1711.
ambitious Czar with designs for the extension of his authority over other portions of the earth. Finding his dominions limited by the ocean in the east, he was anxious to know what territories lay beyond that barrier, and whether it would not be possible for him to invade from that quarter the establishments of the French, the British, or the Spaniards in America. Influenced by such views, he ordered that vessels should be built in Kamschatka, and equipped for voyages of discovery to be made agreeably to instructions which he himself drew up; while, in the mean time, other vessels should proceed from Archangel eastward, to explore the Arctic or Icy Sea and the northern coasts of Asia.

At the period when this plan was arranged by Peter the Great, it was not known whether Asia and America were united by land in the north, or were separated by means of a connexion between the Pacific and the Icy Sea; nor had it indeed been ascertained that the waters which bathed the shores of Kamschatka communicated directly with the Pacific, although this was considered most probable from the traditions that large ships had been wrecked upon those shores. The solution of these great geographical questions was the first object proposed by the Czar in the expeditions; the next being to discover the most practicable means of reaching the possessions of other European nations in America.

Various circumstances prevented the execution of any of these
projects during the lifetime of Peter. His widow and successor, 1725.
Catherine, however, resolved to carry them into fulfilment; and
a small vessel was at length, in 1728, built and equipped at the 1728.
mouth of the river of Kamschatka, on the eastern side of that peninsula, for a voyage agreeably to the instructions of the Czar. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Vitus Beering, a Dane, who had been selected for the purpose by Peter on account of his approved courage and nautical skill; his lieutenants were Alexei Tschirikof, a Russian, and Martin Spanberg, a German, both of whom afterwards rose to eminence as navigators.

Beering sailed from Kamschatka on the 14th of July, 1728, July 14.
and took a northward course along the Asiatic shore, which he
traced as far as the latitude of 67 degrees 18 minutes. There he
found the coast turning almost directly eastward, and presenting August 15.
nothing but rocks and snow as far as it could be perceived, while no land was visible in the north or the east. From these circumstances, the navigator concluded that he had reached the northeastern extremity of Asia, and that the waters in which he was then sailing were those of the Icy Sea. Conceiving, therefore, that he had attained the objects of his voyage in this direction, and fearing that if he should proceed farther he might be obliged to winter in this desolate region, for which he was unprepared,

1728. he returned to Kamschatka, where he arrived in safety on the
Sept. 2. 2d of September. In this voyage Beering had twice, without
knowing it, passed within a few miles of the American continent,
through the narrow strait upon which his name was, fifty years
afterwards, generously bestowed by Cook.

1729. In the succeeding year Beering sailed again from Kamschatka,
June 5. and, taking an eastward course, endeavored to find the American
continent. Ere he had advanced far in that direction, however,
July 23. he was assailed by violent adverse winds, which forced him
1729 around the southern extremity of the peninsula into the Sea of
to Ochotsk. After this repulse, he went to St. Petersburg, and engaged
1741. in no other expedition of discovery for twelve years.

While Beering was thus remaining inactive at the Russian
capital, the existence of a direct communication between the Pacific
and the sea which bathes the shores of Kamschatka was ascertained,
1729. first by the shipwreck of a Japanese vessel on the
to eastern side of that peninsula in 1729, and ten years afterwards by
1739. the voyages of two Russian vessels, under the command, respectively,
of Martin Spanberg and William Walton, through the passages
between the Kurile Islands to Japan. Within the same period,
also, the continuity of the Pacific with the Atlantic through
the Icy Sea, which the discoveries of Beering had given reason to
suspect, was rendered nearly if not absolutely certain by means of
expeditions, partly by land and partly by sea, along the northern
coasts of Europe and Asia; all the attempts, however, made at that
time, and since, to pass with vessels around those coasts, from ports
in Europe to the Pacific, proved abortive. Moreover, a Russian,
1732. named Krupisheff, had sailed, in 1732, from Kamschatka northward,
as far as the extreme point of the Asiatic shore reached by
Beering in his first voyage; thence he had been driven by storms
towards the east, upon the coast of an extensive and mountainous
territory which was supposed to be, and undoubtedly was, a part of
America. Thus the great geographical questions proposed by the
Czar Peter were determined, and the practicability of a communication
by sea between the Russian dominions in Asia and
the Spanish possessions in America was satisfactorily proved.

1740. These discoveries encouraged the Empress Anne, who occupied
the throne of Russia when they were completed, to persevere in
endeavoring to extend her authority farther eastward; and she
accordingly commissioned Beering in 1740 to superintend another
expedition from Kamschatka in search of America. For this
purpose two vessels were built in the Bay of Avatscha, on the
southeast side of Kamschatka, which had been selected for the
establishment of a marine depot; they were larger and more fully
equipped than any of those employed in preceding voyages of
discovery in that quarter, and scientific men were engaged in
France and Germany to accompany Beering, so that precise information
might be obtained on all points connected with the seas
and territories to be explored. Before the preparations were all
made, the Empress Anne died; but her successor, Elizabeth, the
daughter of Peter the Great, immediately declared in favor of the
enterprise, and, no delays being experienced, the vessels were

both ready for sea by June, 1741. On the 4th of that month they 1741.
sailed from the Bay of Avatscha; the larger being commanded by Beering, and the other by Tschirikof, who had accompanied the Dane in his other voyages. On leaving the harbor, the vessels took a directly eastern course, and thus continued in company until the 21st of June; on that day they were separated during a storm, after which they never again met.

The only regular accounts which we have of Beering's voyage, after his separation from Tschirikof, are contained in the Journal of Steller, the surgeon and naturalist of the ship.[*] This journal is by no means sufficiently precise upon points of navigation and geography; in consequence of which, it has been impossible to identify many of the spots described by him as discovered during the voyage, although the general course of the vessel may be traced.

From these accounts we learn that Beering, after parting with
Tschirikof, continued on his course eastward, without meeting
with any thing worthy of note until the 15th of July; on which July 15.
day, land was seen in the north, near the 60th degree of latitude. The part first descried was the summit of a mountain, the extraordinary elevation of which may be surmised from the fact that it became visible at the distance of more than eighty miles. As they sailed towards this point, the Russians perceived successively other lofty peaks, and then ridges of mountains, all covered with snow, and stretching along the coasts, as well as into the interior of the country, to the utmost limits of the view; and, upon drawing nearer to the land, they found a large river emptying into the sea, the current of which was felt several miles from its mouth.[†]

These evidences of the extensiveness of the territory, together with its geographical position, were sufficient to convince the Russians that they had at length reached the American continent. Many of the officers immediately expressed to the commander their wishes that he would pursue the discovery towards the southeast, in which direction the coast appeared to turn;
but Beering was then laboring under severe illness, and was
anxious to arrive in Kamschatka before the winter, in conse- July 19.
quence of which he gave orders that they should take a west-
ern course. On the 20th of the month they anchored in a nar- July 20.
row passage between the continent and a small island, on which
latter they landed in search of water. There they found several huts, which appeared to have been recently abandoned by their occupants, and various implements similar to those used in Kamschatka; none of the natives, however, were to be seen, and
the Russians, having obtained a supply of water, set sail again on July 21.
the following day.

---

[*] Steller's Journal was first published in the original German by Professor Pallas in 1795; before which time, all that was known of Beering's voyage to America was contained in a meagre and incorrect abstract of this Journal in Muller's Collections of Russian History. A translation of the most material parts of the account may be found in Coxe's History of Russian Discoveries, page 20.

[†] No such river has been since found in that part of America.

1741. According to Steller, the name of *St. Elias* was bestowed by the Russians on the most prominent point of this island, in honor of the patron of the day on which they reached it. The old accounts of the expedition, however, state that Beering gave that name to the lofty mountain which had first attracted his attention. Steller is more probably correct, as the 20th of July is the day of Saint Elias, agreeably to the calendar of the Greek church. The stupendous peak rising on the northwest coast of America, near the 60th degree of latitude, and distinguished on our maps as *Mount Saint Elias*, received that appellation in 1778 from Cook, who considered it to be, as it doubtless was, the same observed by Beering in 1741. Vancouver, who examined this coast minutely in 1794, was convinced that the place in which the Russians first anchored is on the eastern side of the entrance to a bay, now generally known as *Beering's*, and sometimes called *Admiralty Bay*.

July 21. From the island on which they had first touched, the Russians
proceeded towards the west; frequently seeing land in the north,
but seldom going near enough to enable them to distinguish its
Aug. 3. character. On the 3d of August, in the latitude of 56 degrees, a
chain of high mountains appeared ahead, stretching across the
horizon; and as they knew that Kamschatka was still far distant,
they concluded that the land before them was either a great
island, or a peninsula extending southward from the American
continent. They in consequence altered their course to a southern
one, in order thus to reach the latitude of 53 degrees, where
they were sure of finding the sea open on the west as far as Avatscha.
The distance was short, but they were so much impeded
in their progress by contrary winds and currents, as well as by
their fears of running upon shoals and small islands, that by the
Aug. 29. end of the month they had scarcely advanced fifty miles upon
their way. By this time the crew began to suffer from sickness
and fatigue, and, in order to give them rest and to procure fresh
water, Beering again anchored near some islands, on which they
remained ashore for several days. While they were lying at this
Aug. 31. place, the first death occurred among them; in commemoration
of which, the group of islands received the name of the deceased
sailor, and have ever since been known as *Schumagin's Isles.**
Here, also, natives of America were first seen by the Russians;
they resembled the Tschutzki, or aboriginals of northeastern
Asia, in their features and habits; and it was remarked that they
used implements of iron, which have since been found to be common
among all the inhabitants of Northwest America.

Sept. After leaving Schumagin's Islands, the Russians discovered others,† extending in a chain westward, nearly in the course of the 53d parallel of latitude, which they passed without landing on them, being anxious to reach Kamschatka before the begin-

---

* They are in number twelve, and are situated near the latitude of 55½ degrees, on the eastern side, and not far from the southern extremity of the great peninsula of Aliaska.

† The Fox Islands, called Unalashka, Unimak, &c.

ning of the stormy season. In this expectation they were disappointed. 1741,
About the middle of September they were assailed Sept.
by a furious tempest, and for several weeks were driven over the
sea at random, while famine, disease, and despair were daily lessening
their numbers. At length, on the 5th of November they
again saw land in the latitude of 55 degrees; it proved to be an
island, and on it they resolved, at all hazards, to pass the winter.
With this view, they landed their stores and other necessaries, Nov. 7.
and began to construct habitations out of sails and spars; they
soon, however, had an abundant supply of building materials
from the wreck of their vessel, which was driven ashore and
dashed to pieces by the waves.

On the 8th of December Beering expired, worn down by sickness Dec. 8.
and fatigue; and thirty of his men were successively consigned
to their graves on the island before the ensuing summer. 1742.
Nearly all these deaths were occasioned by scurvy, with which
the whole crew were affected when they landed; the survivors
were restored to health by the free use of fresh water, and supported
themselves chiefly on the meat of sea and land animals, of
which they killed great numbers during their stay. Upon the
return of mild weather, they began to build a small vessel out April.
of the pieces of the wreck, which they got ready for sea in August.
On the 14th of that month they departed in their frail boat Aug. 14.
from the western side of the island; two days afterwards they Aug. 16.
made the coast of Kamschatka; and on the evening of the 21st Aug. 21.
they landed, forty-six in all, at the place from which they had
sailed in the Bay of Avatscha. The island, where they had thus
passed more than nine months, is a long and narrow slip of land,
situated between the parallels of 55 and 56, about eighty miles
from the east coast of Kamschatka; it has ever since been called
Beering's Isle.

Such were the occurrences of Beering's last voyage. The 1741.
other vessel employed in this expedition under Tschirikof, likewise
pursuing an eastward course, came upon land on the 15th July 15.
of July, in the latitude of 56 degrees. The territory thus discovered
extended on the ocean from north to south; it was covered
with high mountains, and its coasts were steep and rocky. As
the weather was unfavorable for approaching the land, Tschirikof
cast anchor at the distance of some miles from it, and sent ten
men in a boat to make examinations; after some time, these men
not returning nor making any signals from the shore, a second
boat with six others of the crew was despatched in the same direction.
Neither of these parties ever returned, nor was any thing
learned respecting their fate; although their commander remained
for several days cruising near the coast, in hope that they would
make their appearance. This hope having entirely vanished,
Tschirikof quitted the coast which he had discovered, and set July 27.
sail for Kamschatka. His voyage homeward was attended with
great difficulties, from constant storms, and from the sickness of
his crew; at length, on the 8th of October, he reached the Bay Oct. 8.
of Avatscha, having lost twenty one men by scurvy, in addition
to the sixteen whose fate was not determined.

1741. The land discovered by Tschirikof in 1741 must have been, agreeably to his statement of its latitude and bearings, the western side of one of the islands contiguous to the American continent, which are now called on English maps *the Prince of Wales's Archipelago.* The inhabitants of these islands are fierce and treacherous, and have always displayed the most uncompromising animosity against foreigners; it is therefore most probable that the men sent ashore by Tschirikof were murdered as soon as they landed.

1741 to 1764. The discoveries effected by Beering and Tschirikof in this expedition were not considered by the Russian Government of sufficient importance to justify the immediate despatch of other vessels towards the American coasts; and accordingly no farther attempts were made by its orders to explore the north Pacific until 1766. In the mean time, however, accidental circumstances connected with Beering's voyage had turned the attention of private individuals in Kamschatka to the islands seen by that navigator on his return, and the part of the ocean in which those islands are situated had been thoroughly searched.

1742. It has been mentioned that the crew of Beering's vessel had, during the period passed by them on an island near Kamschatka, subsisted chiefly on the flesh of the land and sea animals which they found there in great numbers. The skins of these animals, particularly of the foxes and sea-otters, were preserved by the men, and carried in their boat to Kamschatka, where they were sold for such high prices that many persons were induced immediately to go to the island and procure farther supplies. In the course of the voyages made for this purpose, other islands were discovered, offering the same advantages; and the number of persons engaged in the search for furs was increased.

1741 to 1764. The trade thus commenced was for some time carried on by individual adventurers, each of whom, acting only for his own benefit, was alternately a seaman, a hunter, and a merchant. At length, however, some capitalists in Siberia employed their funds in the pursuit; and the expeditions to the islands were in consequence made on a more extensive scale, and were conducted with greater regularity and efficiency. Trading stations were established at particular points, where the furs were collected by persons left there for the purpose; and vessels were sent at certain periods, from the ports of Asiatic Russia, to carry the articles required for the use of the agents, or for barter with the natives of the islands, and to bring away the skins which had been procured.

The aborigines of the islands were a bold and savage race, whom it was found almost impossible to subdue or to conciliate; they attacked and murdered the strangers whenever an opportunity was offered, and the Russians appear to have treated them, in return, with great cruelty and oppression. In the smaller islands, the natives were soon extirpated or reduced to absolute slavery by the traders, who employed every means to force them to hunt and fish for the animals yielding the furs. The poor savages were required by their taskmasters to procure a certain num ber of skins during each season; for the delivery of which, and for their quiet behavior in the mean time, they were obliged to give up their children as hostages. In the larger islands, where the mountains afforded facilities for retreat or defence to the inhabitants, wars were constantly going on between them and the strangers. 1741 to 1764.

In addition to the miseries and loss of human life thus occasioned, a large proportion of the persons engaged in the collection and conveyance of the furs were annually destroyed by cold, starvation, shipwreck, and especially by scurvy. The history of the first establishment of the Russians in this quarter of the world is, indeed, little else than a series of accounts of dreadful disasters and sufferings; and whatever may be our opinions with regard to the humanity of the adventurers, or the morality of their enterprises, we cannot but admire the courage and perseverance which they displayed in struggling against such appalling difficulties.*

The islands thus discovered and conquered by the Russian fur-traders were those between the 53d and the 55th parallels of latitude, extending in a regular line or chain from the vicinity of Kamschatka, eastward across the sea, to the extremity of the opposite American peninsula of *Aliaska.* They were at first known by the general name of *Aleyutsky*, or *Aleutian Islands;* at present, however, they are considered as divided into three groups, the most western of which retains the name of *Aleutian*, the middle group being called the *Andreanowsky*, and the most eastern the *Fox Islands.* The latter division includes Unalashka, Umnak, and Unimak, the largest and most important islands of the chain; at a short distance northeast from these are the *Schumagin Islands*, discovered by Beering, and named after one of his crew; and still farther in the same direction is *Kodiak* or *Kuktak*, the largest island in this part of the Pacific. Kodiak was the extreme point to which the fur-traders had penetrated in 1778; before that time the only portion of the American continent frequented by them was the coast of Aliaska, which they believed to be an island.

As the traders had no instruments for determining latitudes or longitudes with precision, their ideas of the relative situations of places in the north Pacific were exceedingly vague and incorrect. Their navigation was conducted in the most inartificial manner possible. A vessel sailing eastward from the Bay of Avatscha, or the southern extremity of Kamschatka, could not proceed far without falling in with one of the islands of the Aleutian chain, which would serve as a mark for her course to another; and thus she might go on from point to point, until she reached the place of her destination. In like manner she would return to Asia; and, if her course and rate of sailing were observed with tolerable attention, there could seldom be any uncertainty whether she were north or south of the line of the islands. A great number

---

* The narratives of many of these expeditions of the Russian fur-traders may be found in Coxe's interesting "Account of Russian Discoveries." Krusenstern, in the narrative of his voyage to the north Pacific, states that at least one-third of the vessels employed in this trade were lost every year. See *postea*, chapter viii.

1741 to 1764. of vessels were, however, lost every year, in consequence of this
want of knowledge respecting the coasts, and want of means to
ascertain positions at sea.

The Russian Government remained for some time unacquainted
with the extent of this trade, and, indeed, with the existence
1764. of the islands discovered by its subjects. At length, in 1764, the
Empress Catherine II. ordered that measures should be taken to
procure exact information upon these points, as also with regard
to the general direction of the west coasts of America, and their
distance from those of her own dominions in Asia. This ambitious
Sovereign had then just ascended the throne, and seemed
determined to carry into fulfilment the designs of Peter the Great
for the extension of the Russian empire beyond the Pacific.

1766. The first voyage made by order of Catherine II. for these purposes was that of Lieutenant Synd, who in 1766 and 1767 sailed through the seas northeast of Kamschatka. Very few particulars concerning his expedition have been published, from the circumstance, probably, that they were not calculated to reflect credit on the nation. By the accounts which have transpired, it appears that he proceeded northwardly, along the Asiatic shore, into the Arctic Ocean; and that he may have seen the American continent, about the 64th degree of latitude, as he was returning.

1768. In the following year, 1768, another expedition was commenced,
for the purpose of surveying the islands discovered by the
fur-traders. With this view, Captain Krenitzin and Lieutenant
July 23. Levashef sailed from the mouth of Kamschatka river, each in
July 27. command of a small vessel; and, after examining Beering's
Island, and some others nearest the coast of Asia, they stretched
across to the Fox Islands, among which they passed the winter.
Before the ensuing summer nearly half the crews of both vessels
had perished from scurvy; and when the navigators returned to
1769. Kamschatka in the autumn of 1769, they had only ascertained approximately
the positions of a few points in the chain of islands between
that peninsula and Aliaska. It is, indeed, said that Krenitzin
employed himself entirely in trading for furs, with which his vessel
was laden when she came back from her voyage. The only
valuable information derived by the Russian Government from
this costly expedition was respecting the mode of conducting the
fur trade in the islands; upon this subject the reports of Levashef
were curious and interesting, and they served to direct the Government
in its first administrative dispositions with regard to
these countries.

The expedition of Krenitzin and Levashef was the last made
by the Russians in the north Pacific, for purposes of discovery or
1771. investigation, before 1783. In 1771, however, took place the first
voyage from the eastern coast of the Russian empire, to a port
frequented by the ships of European nations; and, strange to say,
this voyage was conducted under the *Polish flag!* In the month
of May of that year, a small number of persons, chiefly Poles,
who had been exiled to Kamschatka, succeeded in overpowering
the garrison of Bolscheretsk, a place situated on the southwest
May 11. side of that peninsula, in which they were detained, and escaped

to sea in a vessel then lying in the harbor. They were directed 1771.
in their enterprise by Count Maurice de Benyowsky, a Hungarian,
who had been in the Polish service, and who afterwards
wrote a history of his own life.* From his accounts, it appears
that the fugitives, upon entering the Pacific, were driven northwardly
along the coast of Asia, as far as the 66th degree of latitude,
during which part of their voyage they also saw the
American continent. At Beering's Island, which they visited, June.
they found a number of fugitives like themselves, established in
possession, under the command of a Saxon named Ochotyn;
they also landed on several of the Aleutian Islands, where they
discovered crosses with inscriptions, which had been erected by
Krenitzin while on his expedition. Proceeding towards the
south, they touched in succession at various places in the Kurile,
Japanese, and Loochoo Islands, and in Formosa, and at
length arrived in September at Canton. Benyowsky's accounts Sept. 28.
were at first discredited; they have, however, been since confirmed
as regards the most material circumstances.

1774. In 1774, a work entitled "*A Description of the New Archipelago of the North, discovered by the Russians, beyond Kamschatka, by J. L. Strœhlin, Councillor of State to the Empress of Russia,*" was published at St. Petersburg, under the immediate direction of the Government. Accounts coming from such a source were universally considered as authentic and accurate; the work was translated into all the principal languages of Europe, and it served as the basis for all maps and descriptions of the north Pacific Ocean until 1785. According to Strœhlin, the American coast extended on the Pacific, from the southern extremity of California, in a line nearly due northwestward, to the 70th degree of latitude. Between the most northern part of this coast and the opposite shores of Asia were placed on his map a number of islands, several of which correspond in name with those of the Aleutian chain; but the positions there assigned to them were very different from those now known to be correct. Aliaska was represented as an island lying beyond the 55th parallel, and separated from each of the adjacent continents by a strait. In the large and beautifully engraved Latin map of the Russian Empire, by Treschot and Schmidt, published in 1776, on which the coasts of Asia are all laid down with great apparent precision, no land except the Aleutian Islands appears east of Kamschatka, within 25 degrees of longitude.

The errors of latitude in these maps amounted, in many cases, to *ten degrees*, and those of longitude were, as might have been expected, much greater. Indeed, until 1778, when Cook made his voyage through the north Pacific, the differences in longitude between places in that part of the ocean had never been estimated, except by the dead reckoning,† which, however carefully

---

* Memoirs and Travels of Count Mauritius Augustus de Benyowsky, written by himself. 2 vols. octavo: London, 1790.

† That is, "by keeping an account of the distance run by the log, and of her course steered by the compass, and rectifying these data by the usual allowances for drift, lee-way, &c., according to the ship's known trim."—*Falconer's Marine Dictionary.*

1774. observed, cannot afford accurate results; nor had any relation, which could be considered as nearly correct, been established between the meridians of a point on the Atlantic and of one on the north Pacific. The above remarks on the extent of the information with regard to the northwest coast of America possessed in 1774, by those who had taken the greatest pains to procure it, will serve to show more clearly the value of the discoveries effected by the Spanish and British navigators during the five years immediately succeeding that period. It may be added, that no further attempts were made by the Russians to increase their knowledge of this part of the world until 1783.

CHAPTER IV.

Voyages of discovery in the north Pacific, made by the Spaniards and the British, between 1774 and 1779—Voyages of Perez, Heceta, Bodega, and Cook—Journeys through the northern parts of America, made by Hearne and Carver.

In the preceding pages, it has been shown that, before 1774, the Spaniards had examined the western coast of America as far north as the 43d degree of latitude; and the Russians, sailing eastward across the Pacific, from their dominions in Asia, had discovered beyond the 55th degree many islands, as well as other territories, which were supposed to be parts of the first mentioned continent. Respecting the portion of the American coast included between these two parallels of latitude, no definite accounts had been obtained, although it was probably visited by European navigators during the latter years of the sixteenth century. The discoveries of the Russians had served to prove that the two great continents were entirely separated from each other by the ocean, but they had afforded little information as to the extension and limits of America in the northwest; and few of the conjectures based upon them have been confirmed by subsequent observations.

In 1774, the Spaniards attempted, for the first time since the 1774.
days of Vizcaino, to explore this coast beyond the 43d degree of latitude. For that purpose, the corvette Santiago was despatched by the Viceroy of Mexico from San Blas, under the command of Juan Perez, an ensign in the Spanish navy, with Estevan Jose Martinez as pilot. They were ordered to proceed, if possible, as far as the 60th degree of latitude, and thence to examine the shores southward to Monterey.

Of this expedition a very imperfect account only can be presented. The Spanish Government carefully concealed all information respecting it until 1802, when a short sketch of the principal occurrences appeared in the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Schooners Sutil and Mexicana, which was in that year published at Madrid, by authority of the King. In addition to this official notice, a few particulars have been communicated by Baron Humboldt, in his Essay on New Spain, as derived from the original Journal of Fathers Crespi and Peña, the chaplains of the Santiago, which he was permitted to inspect at Mexico. From these, the only sources of knowledge on the subject, the following account of the voyage of Perez has been drawn.

From San Blas, Perez sailed first to Monterey, and thence continued Jan. 25.
his voyage towards the north, keeping at a distance from the coast, in order to reach a high latitude before the cold weather should commence. The land next seen by him was near the

1774. July 20. 54th parallel, and must have been the northwestern part of Queen Charlotte's Island. After a cursory examination of this coast, he proceeded towards the south, occasionally seeing the land; and Aug. 9. at length, in the latitude of 49½ degrees, he discovered and entered a bay, to which he gave the name of *Port San Lorenzo.*[*] Here he traded with the natives, who surrounded his vessel in great numbers, offering the skins of animals in return for articles of iron, with which metal they were already acquainted. From this bay Perez sailed on the 10th of August; and as he arrived at Monterey on the 27th of the same month, it is not probable that he examined very minutely the coast lying between the two places. Martinez, the pilot of the ship, however, in 1789, asserted that a passage extending eastwardly between the 48th and 49th parallels had been found, and entered by his commander soon after quitting Port San Lorenzo; upon the strength of which assertion, Navarrete assigns to Perez the discovery of the arm of the sea now called the Strait of Fuca, and in his map bestows the name of *Point Martinez* on the cape at the southern side of its entrance.

From this account of the voyage of Perez, it will be seen that little information was obtained by him with regard to the northwest coast of America. If the latitude of Port San Lorenzo be correctly reported in the accounts of the expedition, (and we have no reason for supposing otherwise,) that bay must have been the same to which Cook, four years afterwards, gave the name of *King George's Sound*, and which is now known as *Nootka Sound.* The Spanish Government, however, by concealing all accounts of the voyage of Perez until long after the publication of the journals of Cook, deprived itself of the means of establishing the claims of its subjects to the merit of the discovery, which is almost universally attributed to the British navigator.

1775. Immediately after the return of Perez, the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Antonio Bucareli, ordered that another expedition should be made to the north Pacific, for the purpose of examining the whole shore of the continent, from Cape Mendocino as far, if possible, as the 65th degree of latitude. With this view, the Santiago was placed under the command of Captain Bruno Heceta, Juan Perez going in her as ensign; and she was to be accompanied by the Sonora, a schooner of not more than thirty tons burden, of which Juan de Ayala was the chief officer, and Antonio Maurelle the pilot. From the Journal of Maurelle, as translated into English by the honorable Daines Barrington, and published at London in 1781, nearly all that is known respecting the expedition has been derived. This Journal is confined almost entirely to the occurrences on board of the schooner; concerning the movements of the Santiago, we have only a few indistinct notices, in the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana. The most material facts collected from these sources are the following:

---

[*] The 10th of August is the day of San Lorenzo, (St. Lawrence,) according to the Roman Catholic Calendar.

The two vessels having been provisioned for a voyage of a 1775. year, sailed together from San Blas, in company with the schooner Mar. 16. San Carlos, which was bound for Monterey. Ere the latter vessel had proceeded far from the land, her captain became delirious; in consequence of which, Juan de Ayala was ordered to take his place, Lieutenant Juan Francisco de la Bodega succeeding to the command of the Sonora. This circumstance is here mentioned, because, in nearly all the accounts of the voyage, Ayala is represented as the principal officer in command, whereas he in fact only accompanied the exploring vessels to the vicinity of Monterey.*

The exploring vessels, after parting with the San Carlos, made Cape Mendocino on the 7th of June, and on the 10th cast anchor June 7. in a small cove just beyond that promontory, in the latitude of 41 degrees 3 minutes. At this place, which was named *Port Trinidad*, the Spaniards remained nine days, employed in refitting their vessels and taking in water. During this time, they held communications with the natives of the country, who appeared to be a mild and tractable race; and on their departure, they erected a cross near the shore, with an inscription setting forth the period of their visit, and the rights of their Sovereign to the surrounding territory, founded upon the discovery. This cross was seen standing by Vancouver, who landed there in 1793; the English navigator did not, however, consider the place as meriting the name of a *port*.

On leaving Port Trinidad, the Spaniards kept at a distance June 19. from the land, beating against contrary winds, until the 9th of July, when, finding themselves in the latitude in which *Juan de Fuca* was said to have discovered a strait leading eastward July 9. through the continent, they sailed to the coast in order to ascertain the truth of the account. Proceeding in that direction, they July 11. soon saw the land, which, from its situation as described, must have been the southwest side of the great island of Vancouver and Quadra, at the entrance of the passage now called Fuca's Strait. They were, however, unable to examine this part of the coast, and were driven southward, to within eighty miles of the mouth of the Columbia, where they anchored, between the continent and a small island. Here they met with a severe misfor- July 13. tune; several of the crew of the schooner, who had been sent on shore in search of water, were surrounded by savages, and murdered immediately on landing; and the vessel was herself ex- July 14.

---

* *Barrington's Miscellanies*, which contains the translation of Maurelle's Journal, is a rare work; and the notices of this expedition, contained in the various memoirs, reports, and reviews, concerning the northwest coasts of America, are nearly all taken directly or at second-hand from the abstracts of the Journal by Fleurieu, in the Introduction to the Narrative of Marchand's Voyage around the World, and in the instructions to La Pérouse. In these papers, Fleurieu has displayed much geographical knowledge, yet he has committed numberless errors; and his contempt for the Spaniards has led him, whenever an opportunity presented itself, or could be contrived, to disparage their proceedings. His accounts and criticisms with regard to the expedition, described by Maurelle, are filled with inaccuracies, and with unjust or illiberal charges against the Spaniards. Of his mistakes, the least important is his assignment of the command to Ayala.

1775. posed to danger from the attacks of the barbarians, who appeared in great numbers in canoes, and were with difficulty prevented from boarding her. In commemoration of this event, the island was called *Isla de Dolores*, (Isle of Grief.) Twelve years afterwards it received from the commander of the Austrian ship Imperial Eagle the name of *Destruction Island*, in consequence of the massacre of some of his men near the spot where the Spaniards had been cut off.

July 15. After the occurrence of this disaster, as many of the crews of both vessels were moreover disabled by sickness, it was debated among the officers whether they should endeavor to proceed to the north, or return to Monterey. The commander, Heceta, was anxious to return; Bodega and Maurelle, however, notwithstanding the miserable condition of their little schooner and crew, insisted that they should persevere in their efforts to reach a higher latitude; and their opinion having been unwillingly adopted by their superior, the voyage was resumed on the 20th of July. On Aug. 4. the 4th of August the vessels were separated, and Heceta seized the opportunity of going to Monterey, while the schooner continued her course towards the north.

Aug. 14. Ten days after leaving the schooner, Heceta, while sailing along the coast of the continent towards the south, discovered a promontory, called by him *Cape San Roque*, and immediately south of it, under the parallel of 46 degrees 16 minutes, an opening in the land, which appeared to be a harbor or the mouth of some river.* This opening, represented in Spanish charts printed before 1788 by the names of *Entrada de Heceta*, *Entrada de Asuncion*, and *Rio de San Roque*,† was, without doubt, the mouth of the Columbia river, which was thus, for the first time, seen by the natives of a civilized country.

Bodega and Maurelle, in their schooner, after parting with He- Aug. 18. ceta, proceeded towards the north as far as the latitude of 57 degrees, before they again saw the land. Under that parallel they discovered a lofty mountain in the form of a beautiful cone, rising from the ocean, and occupying nearly the whole of what appeared to be a peninsula, projecting westward from the coast of an extensive territory. In the angles between the supposed peninsula and the main land, were two bays, the northernmost of which was called *Port Remedios*, and that on the southern side *Port Guadalupe*, in honor of the two most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Mexico, situated near the capital. The mountain overhanging these bays received the name of *San Jacinto*, the saint on whose day it was discovered; and the appellation of *Cape Engaño* (Deception) was bestowed on its western extremity. There is no difficulty in identifying these spots, from the descriptions given by Maurelle, although they are distinguished on our English maps by other names; they are on the western side of the largest island of King George the Third's group, a little northward of the place where the Russian navigator, Tschirikof, saw the land, and where his men were lost in 1741. Mount San Jacinto is now generally known as *Mount Edgecumb*, and Cape Engaño as *Cape Edgecumb;* Port Remedios is the *Bay of Islands;* and Port Guadalupe is *Norfolk Sound*, called also by the Russians the *Gulf of Sitca*. These two bays communicate with each other by a narrow passage behind the mountain, which is thus completely insulated. 1775.

---

* Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 153; and Introduction to the same, page 94.

† The 15th of August is the day of the Assumption; and the 16th is St. Roque's (o St. Roch's) day, according to the Roman Catholic Calendar.

The Spaniards landed on the shore of Port Remedios, where Aug. 19. they took possession of the country for their Sovereign with religious formalities, obtained some fresh water, and fought and traded with the natives, who appeared to have very distinct ideas of their own rights of property in the soil. The voyage was then continued towards the north, as far as the 58th degree. When the vessel had reached that latitude, nearly the whole of her crew Aug. 22. were incapable of duty, while the increasing violence of the winds rendered additional exertions absolutely necessary. Under such circumstances, the officers found that it would be imprudent to persevere in their endeavors to advance, and they accordingly turned towards the south, resolving, however, to explore the coasts minutely in that direction.

Having taken this course, they searched along the shores as they went, for the passage or strait called the *Rio de los Reyes*, through which Admiral Fonté was said to have sailed into the Atlantic in 1640. "With this intent," writes Maurelle, "we searched every bay and recess of the coast, and sailed around every headland, lying to during the night, in order that we might not lose sight of this entrance; after which exertions, we may safely pronounce that no such strait is to be found." This conclusion was certainly correct, yet it was as certainly not established by the discoveries of the Spaniards in 1775. On that occasion, the search was confined to the part of the coast north of the 55th parallel; whereas, according to the account of Fonté's voyage, the Rio de los Reyes entered the Pacific under the 53d. Moreover, had the observations been as minute as Maurelle represents them, several passages would have been found leading towards the north and east, for the examination of any one of which more time would have been required than was devoted by the Spaniards to the whole search.

In the course of this examination, a bay, affording excellent harbors, and well secured against the ocean by islands, was discovered in the latitude of 55½ degrees, which, in compliment to the Viceroy of Mexico, was called *Port Bucareli*. It is situated Aug. 24. on the southwestern side of the largest of the Prince of Wales's Islands, and is one of the few places on the northwest coast of America which still retain on our maps the names originally bestowed by their Spanish discoverers. From Port Bucareli the schooner sailed slowly southward, along the shores of the great islands which border the American continent, and were long after supposed to form part of it; and on the 19th of Sep- Sept. 19. tember she reached the spot where her men had been murdered

1775. Sept. 19. two months before by the savages. Thence her voyage was continued, at some distance from the land, past the mouth of the Columbia; a little south of which she again approached the continent, and her officers endeavored to find the entrance of the great river said to have been seen by Martin de Aguilar, the pilot of one of Vizcaino's vessels, in 1603. The examinations with this view were commenced near a promontory, "resembling in form a round table," which* received the appellation of *Cape Mezari*, situated about thirty miles from the mouth of the Columbia; and were prosecuted to the vicinity of Cape Mendocino, without success. The Spaniards then bore away for the bay of San Francisco; and, while looking for it, they entered a smaller bay, situated farther north, to which Captain Bodega thought proper to give his own name. There they remained long enough to survey the shores; after which, they took their departure, and arrived at Monterey on the 7th of October. Oct. 7.

The expeditions of the Spaniards in the north Pacific, during the years 1774 and 1775, have been made the subjects of severe reflections and sarcasms by French and English writers; especially by Fleurieu, in his Introduction to the Account of Marchand's Voyage around the World, and his Notes to the Instructions given to La Pérouse. It must be acknowledged that little *exact* information respecting the northwestern side of America was derived by means of these expeditions; yet their results might have been important, by affording useful hints for the organization and conduct of future voyages. The great questions of the extension of the continent towards the north and west were left unsettled, and the delineation of the coasts, founded upon the journals and tables of the navigators, was imperfect and inaccurate; on the other hand, the eastern boundaries of the Pacific were approximately ascertained, as far north as the 58th degree of latitude; and several harbors were found, the positions of which were determined with tolerable precision. Perez and Heceta, indeed, displayed a cautiousness of disposition approaching to pusillanimity; but Bodega and Maurelle certainly vindicated the character of their nation for courage and perseverance, by their struggles to advance under the most appalling difficulties.

1777. In order to complete the examination of the northwest coast of America, the Viceroy, Bucareli, obtained from his Government the use of two small corvettes, which he was anxious to despatch in 1777; the funds required for their equipment were, however, so slowly collected that they were not ready for sea until two years afterwards. In the mean time, that coast had been visited 1778. by Captain James Cook, whose discoveries now claim our attention. Before proceeding to consider them, it should be observed that the Spanish Government carefully concealed from the world every circumstance relating to its establishments and researches on the shores of the north Pacific; and it was not until 1781, when 1778. Mr. Barrington published his translation of Maurelle's Journal, that any thing was known in Europe upon those subjects, except the fact that a voyage had been made about 1774 from Mexico to that part of the ocean. This should be borne in mind, in order that a just estimate may be formed of the value of the labors of Cook and his successors in command; none of whom were aware that any discoveries had been made by the Spaniards on the west coasts of North America, since those of Vizcaino in 1603.

---

* This promontory is minutely described by Captain Clarke, who ascended it in January, 1806. See Lewis and Clarke's Travels, chapter 22.

Mention has been frequently made in this memoir of the efforts of the British to discover a northern passage for ships between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. These efforts were all directed towards the northwestern extremities of the Atlantic; and, in prosecution of them, the two great seas called *Hudson's Bay* and *Baffin's Bay* were first explored, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the navigators whose names they bear. It was soon afterwards ascertained, satisfactorily, that the desired communication could only be realized through the medium of one or the other of these bays; and, in order to encourage perseverance in the search for it, the whole region surrounding Hudson's Bay was granted by King Charles II., in 1669, to a society 1669. of London merchants, entitled the *Hudson's Bay Company*, with the understanding that they should endeavor to effect the discovery. As an additional means of promoting the attainment of this end, the British Parliament, in 1745, offered a reward of twenty 1745. thousand pounds to those of "*his Majesty's subjects who might find a passage for ships from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific.*"

Without presenting a detailed account of the various expeditions* made in consequence of these engagements and inducements, suffice it to say that, in 1768, nothing had been learned 1768. respecting the portion of the American continent and the adjacent seas west of the immediate vicinities of Hudson's and Baffin's Bays. Hudson's Bay had been explored completely by the furtraders, as far north as the 67th degree of latitude, beyond which, however, it was known to extend; and although Baffin's Bay had been navigated to the 77th parallel, yet its shores had been but imperfectly examined. A channel for the passage of ships, between one of these bays and the Pacific, might therefore exist; or the Pacific, or some large river emptying into it, might be found within a short distance of places on the Atlantic side, accessible to vessels from Europe. The acquisition of Canada by Great Britain, in 1763, had rendered the determination of these questions more interesting to that Power, as there was no longer any danger that such discoveries could be employed to its disadvantage.

1769. In order to arrive at some definite conclusion on those points, as well as for other purposes connected with commercial interests, the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1769, commis-

---

* A concise, though clear, and doubtless just account of these expeditions, and of their results, may be found in the Introduction to the Journals of Captain Cook's Third and Last Voyage, written by Doctor Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury.

1769. sioned Mr. Samuel Hearne, one of their agents, to explore the region westward and northward of Hudson's Bay, so as to ascertain, if possible, how far the land extended without interruption in those directions, and, consequently, how far a ship would necessarily have to pass in a voyage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Agreeably to his instructions, Hearne set out* from *Fort Prince of Wales*, situated at the westernmost extremity of Nov. 6. Hudson's Bay, in the latter part of 1769; between which period and July, 1772, he made three journeys on foot and in canoes, 1769 to 1772. through the designated territories, examining them in various lines of march, to the distance of nearly a thousand miles from the place of his departure. In these expeditions, he discovered the *Great Slave Lake*, and many other similar collections of fresh water, from the most western of which issued streams flowing towards the north. One of the largest of these streams, called *Coppermine River*, was traced by him for a considerable distance, down to its termination, near the 68th degree of latitude, in a sea, which was certainly a division of the ocean, for the tides were observed in it, and the relics of whales in abundance were strewed on its shore. The traveller, moreover, assured himself that the portion of the continent which he had thus examined was not traversed by any channel or uninterrupted line of water forming a communication between the seas on its eastern and its western sides; and that, consequently, no passage could be effected from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in that direction, without sailing north of the mouth of the Coppermine.

The discoveries of Hearne were considered in Great Britain as highly important. The sea into which the Coppermine river emptied was supposed to be the Pacific;† and, as that ocean thus appeared to extend much farther towards the northeast than had been previously imagined, the hope of finding a direct communication between its waters and those of Baffin's Bay were proportionally increased.

Before relating what was done by the British Government in consequence of the information afforded by Hearne, it will be proper to notice another journey in the interior of North America, performed a short time previous, by Captain Jonathan Carver, of June, 1766, to October, 1768. Connecticut. This gentleman set out from Boston in June, 1766; and, proceeding by way of Michilimackinac, passed the two following years in exploring the region west of the Great Lakes, which is watered by the upper Mississippi. Beyond this region he did not advance; and the only reason for mentioning his expedition here is, that, in the narrative of his adventures,‡ allusions are sev-

---

* The discoveries made by Hearne were communicated to the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, and by them to the British Admiralty; no account of them was, however, given to the world until the publication, in 1784, of the Journals of Cook's Last Voyage, in the Introduction to which they are noticed. Hearne's Journals and Maps were finally published in 1795, after his death.

† Hearne estimated the latitude of the mouth of the Coppermine to be 72 degrees. We now know, from the observations of Franklin, that this river enters the Arctic Sea under the parallel of 67 degrees 51 minutes.

‡ Published at London in 1778. It attracted much attention at that time, and soon went through several editions. The work has been lately reprinted at New York.

1766 to 1768.

eral times made to *a great river* flowing westwardly into the Pacific from the central part of the continent.

In the Introduction to his Narrative, Carver states that his objects were, "after gaining a knowledge of the manners, customs, languages, soil, and natural productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi, to ascertain the breadth of the vast continent (North America) which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, in its broadest part, between the 43d and 46th degrees northern latitude. Had I been able to accomplish this, I intended to have proposed to the Government to establish a post in some of those parts about the *Strait of Anian*, which, having been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, of course belong to the English. This, I am convinced, would greatly facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean." This extensive plan he was, however, unable to effect; having been obliged to turn back after having advanced as far as the St. Peter's River, and just as he was preparing to pursue his journey "*by way of the Lakes Du Pluye, Dubois, and Ouinipique,** *to the head of the Great River of the West, which falls into the Strait of Anian, the termination of his intended progress.*" In summing up the information which he presents to the public, he lays great stress upon his "account of the heads of the four great rivers that take their rise within a few leagues of each other, nearly about the centre of the great continent, viz: "the *River Bourbon*, (Red River,) *which empties itself into Hudson's Bay; the waters of the St. Lawrence; the Mississippi; and the River Oregon, or River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Strait of Anian.*"

This account is certainly incorrect, so far as regards the head waters of any stream flowing into the Pacific; and as Carver, though he frequently mentions the Oregon, gives no information concerning it more particular than that *it rises among the Shining Mountains, west of the source of St. Peter's River, and falls into the Pacific at the Strait of Anian*, he cannot in justice be considered as having thrown any light upon the geography of the western division of North America. As to the derivation or meaning of the word *Oregon*, he says nothing; and nothing satisfactory is, indeed, known about it. No such word is to be found in any vocabularies of Indian languages which have been examined in search of it; and there is little probability that it comes either from the *Oregano* or the *Orejon* of the Spaniards, or the *O'Regan* of the Irish. In fact, there is reason to suspect that Carver invented the name himself, and that he derived his idea of the river not from the Indians, but from the maps of the day, in most of which such a stream is laid down running from the vicinity of the Mississippi. It is certain that he copied the greater part of his accounts of the manners and customs of the *Nadowessie* Indians, (now called the *Sioux*,) as well as their terms, from those given by Lahontan, nearly a century previous, respecting the sav-

---

* *Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods*, and *Lake Winnipeg.*

1766 to 1768. ages of Canada; as may be seen by comparing the chapters on marriage, on burial, on hunting, and on many other subjects in the two works, although he merely mentions the French traveller once or twice incidentally, and then in a very disparaging manner.*

Carver concludes his narrative by stating that a project had been formed in England, in 1774, by Richard Whitworth and other persons, of whom he himself was one, to cross the American continent with a large party, by way of the Oregon and Missouri Rivers to the Pacific, and then to examine the coasts of that ocean towards the north, in search of some passage leading to the Atlantic; but that the Revolution in America had caused the scheme to be abandoned.

1774. The British Government, however, soon afterwards endeavored to obtain a solution of the interesting question as to the existence of a northern passage between the two oceans; for which purpose it was arranged that ships should be simultaneously despatched to the north Pacific and to Baffin's Bay. Captain Cook, who about this time returned from his second circumnavigation of the earth, volunteered to conduct the expedition to the north Pacific; his offer was joyfully accepted, and he accordingly sailed from 1776. July 12. Plymouth on the 12th of July, 1776, in his old ship the Resolution, accompanied by the Discovery, under the command of Captain Charles Clerke.

Captain Cook was instructed to proceed by way of the Cape of Good Hope and Otaheite, "to the coast of *New Albion*, endeavoring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45 degrees." He was there "to put into the first convenient port to recruit his wood and water and procure refreshments, and then to sail northward along the coast to the latitude of 65 degrees, or farther if not obstructed by lands or ice, taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets, or upon any other account," until he had reached that parallel. At the 65th degree he was to begin his examination of the coast, in search of "a water passage pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays;" if he should find such a passage, he was to endeavor to make his way through it; should he, however, become convinced that no such communication existed, he was to visit the Russian establishments in that quarter, and to explore the seas north of them as far and as completely as he could. The direction not to commence the search for a passage to the Atlantic *south of the 65th parallel*, was founded on the proofs afforded by Hearne that the American continent extended uninterrupted beyond that latitude, and that, consequently, the stories of the voyages of Fuca and Fonté from the Pacific to the Atlantic were entitled to no credit.

The application of the name of *New Albion* to the western portion of North America showed that the British Government had no intention to resign the rights supposed or pretended to have 1776. been acquired by Drake's visit to that region. In order to revive and fortify these claims, Cook was instructed, "with the consent of the natives, *to take possession, in the name of the King of Great Britain*, of convenient situations in such countries as he might discover, that had not been already discovered or visited by any other European Power, and to distribute among the inhabitants such things as will remain as traces of his having been there; but if he should find those countries uninhabited, he was to take possession of them for his Sovereign, by setting up proper marks and inscriptions as first discoverers and possessors."* He was "strictly enjoined not to touch upon any part of the Spanish dominions on the western continent of America, unless driven thither by some unavoidable accident; in which case, he was to stay no longer than should be absolutely necessary, and to be careful to give no umbrage or offence to any of the inhabitants or subjects of his Catholic Majesty." With reference to the Russians he was directed, "if in his farther progress northward he should find any subjects of any European Prince or State upon any part of the coast, not to disturb them or give them any just cause of offence, but, on the contrary, to treat them with civility and friendship."

---

* In the interesting Account of Major Long's Expedition through the country of the upper Mississippi in 1823, vol. i, chapter 7, will be found some observations calculated to show that no dependence is to be placed on Carver's statements respecting that part of America, particularly as regards the St. Peter's River, which it is probable that he never ascended.

The preceding extracts from the instructions given to Cook in 1776 will be sufficient to explain the objects of his voyage to the north Pacific, and the views of the British Government with regard to the part of America bordering upon that division of the ocean. It should be observed, in addition, that those views were in every respect conformable with justice, with the existing treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, and with the principles of national law, then generally admitted in civilized countries.

When Cook sailed from England on this his last voyage, he July 12. expected to reach the north Pacific early in the summer of 1777; he was, however, detained by his researches in other parts of the ocean during the whole of that year, and did not arrive upon the northwest coast of America until the 7th of March, 1778, when 1778. he made the land about a hundred miles north of Cape Mendo- Mar. 7. cino. For several days afterwards he was prevented by violent storms from advancing as he wished towards the north, and was driven along the coast to some distance in the contrary direction. The wind then becoming favorable, he took the desired Mar. 13. course, and on the 22d of the month his ships were opposite a Mar. 22. projecting point of the continent, situated a little beyond the 48th parallel, to which he gave the name of *Cape Flattery* in token of his improved prospects. In this part of his voyage he recognised the Cape Blanco of Aguilar, near the 43d parallel, but he thought proper to bestow on it the name of *Cape Gregory*. The mouth of the Columbia was passed by him, without its being noticed, during a stormy night.

The coast immediately *south* of Cape Flattery was carefully examined in search of the strait through which Juan de Fuca was said to have sailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic in 1592. In the account of that voyage, the entrance of the strait is placed

1778. between the 47th and 48th degrees of latitude; and the land being found by Cook to extend uninterruptedly across that space, he did not hesitate to pronounce that no such passage existed. This assertion has been subsequently confirmed; had the English navigator, however, traced the outline of the coast on the *other* side of Cape Flattery, he would there have discovered an arm of the ocean, apparently penetrating the continent towards the east, through which he might have proceeded with his ships for many days ere he could have been assured that the story of the Greek pilot's voyage was not true in all its most essential particulars.

This arm of the sea was passed unnoticed by Cook, who continued his voyage from Cape Flattery, northward across its entrance, and along the shore of what he supposed to be the continent, as far as the latitude of 49½ degrees. Under that parallel he found a spacious and secure bay offering every facility for the repair of his vessels and the refreshment of his men, in which he
Mar. 29. cast anchor on the 29th of March, bestowing upon it, at the same time, the name of *King George's Sound.* This name he shortly after changed to that of *Nootka Sound*, under the impression (which appears to have been incorrect) that *Nootka*[*] was the term employed to distinguish the bay, by the natives of the surrounding territory.

April. The English remained at Nootka Sound four weeks, engaged in preparations for the difficulties which they expected to encounter. During this period they communicated freely with the natives of the country, who, though universally represented as the most thievish, treacherous, and ferocious of the human race, were upon this occasion rendered useful, and even obliging, by the kind and conciliatory conduct of the strangers. A regular interchange of commodities was also established between the parties, the seamen giving their old clothes, buttons, knives, and other trifles, in return for the skins of sea-otters and seals, which were found in abundance on those coasts.

Cook has recorded in his Journal many curious particulars illustrative of the character and habits of these savages, and he has also noticed some circumstances which appeared to show that they had held intercourse with Europeans before his arrival among them. Thus he remarks that they manifested no surprise at the sight of his ships, and were not startled by the reports of his guns; they had tools and weapons of iron, and ornaments of brass, which latter, at least, could not have been made by persons unacquainted with the arts; and one of their chiefs had hanging around his neck *two silver table-spoons of Spanish manufacture.* Yet the navigator was convinced, from inquiries, that no ships besides those under his command had been seen at Nootka, and that none of the inhabitants had ever communicated directly with the Spaniards or any other civilized people. Their indifference with regard to his ships he attributed to their "natural indolence of temper and want of curiosity;" and he concluded 1778. that they obtained their iron and other metals from the European colonies in America, through the agency, "perhaps, of several intermediate nations."

---

[*] The name of *Uquot*, or *Yucuatl*, applied by the natives of this region to a part of the sound called Friendly Cove, is the only word in their language which resembles *Nootka.*

Under these circumstances, Cook finally considered himself justified in claiming the merit of the first discovery of Nootka Sound, and it has since been almost universally conceded to him. The Spanish Government and writers, however, insist that this place is no other than the *Port San Lorenzo*, entered and so named by Juan Perez, during his voyage along this coast, four years previous to the arrival of the English in the north Pacific. In the account of that voyage, at page 70, we have shown upon what evidence this assertion is founded; and it cannot be denied that many of the facts observed by Cook, at Nootka, tend to confirm the probability of its correctness. To attempt to determine the question satisfactorily in favor of the Spanish navigator, would be at the present day an unprofitable employment.

Cook sailed from Nootka Sound on the 26th of April, with the April 26. intention of proceeding as speedily as possible to the 65th degree of latitude, where he was to begin the examination of the American coasts, in search of a passage to the Atlantic. The land next seen by him was the beautiful peak which he called *Mount* May 2. *Edgecumb*, but which had received from Bodega and Maurelle in 1775 the name of *Mount San Jacinto;* and two days afterwards May 4. he beheld rising from the shore two stupendous piles of rocks and snow, on the southernmost of which the appellation of *Mount Fairweather* was bestowed, while the other, lying nearly under the 60th parallel, was recognised as the *Mount Saint Elias* described in the accounts of Beering's last voyage. From the foot of Mount Saint Elias the coast was observed to turn to the west, instead of continuing in a northward direction, as it was represented in the latest charts of the Russians. Cook thereupon resolved to commence his survey at that point, hoping that he should soon find some strait or arm of the ocean, through which his ships might pass around the northwestern extremity of the continent into the sea discovered by Hearne.

With this view the English advanced slowly along the shore from Mount Saint Elias to a considerable distance westward, and thence southward as far as the 55th degree of latitude; minutely June. exploring in their way the two great gulfs called *Prince William's Sound* and *Cook's River*, and every other opening through which they supposed it possible to effect a passage. Their expectations, however, were in each instance disappointed; and the land was found extending continuously on the right of the whole line thus surveyed by them, over a vast space, which in the charts and accounts of the Russians, was represented as occupied by the ocean. That this land was a part of the American continent Cook entertained no doubt, although the fact had not then been established; and he therefore saw with regret that the probability of his being able to accomplish the grand object of his voyage was materially lessened, if not entirely destroyed.

While this survey was going on, the ships were frequently visited by the natives of the adjacent territories, none of whom ap-

1778. peared to have held any previous intercourse with civilized per-
June 19. sons; and it was not until they had passed the south-western extremity of the land, near the 55th parallel of latitude, that traces of the Russians were perceived. From this point they
June 28. proceeded towards the west, and at length, on the 28th of June, they reached an island which proved to be Unalashka, one of the largest of the Fox group, well known as a place of resort of the fur-traders from Asia. But few natives were found upon it at that time; yet, as its position with reference to the other islands and to Kamschatka was supposed to be expressed with some approach to accuracy on the charts published at St. Petersburg, its discovery was considered important for the regulation of future researches.

July 2. From Unalashka Cook proceeded northward through the part of the Pacific usually distinguished as the *Sea of Kamschatka*, into the Arctic Ocean, examining the American coast in search of a
Aug. 9. passage around the continent towards the east. On the 9th of August, he reached a point situated near the 66th parallel of latitude, and called by him *Cape Prince of Wales*, which has been ascertained to be the western extremity of America; and thence,
Aug. 10. crossing a channel of only fifty-one miles in breadth, he arrived at the opposite extremity of Asia, since known as *East Cape*. Upon the channel which there separates the two great continents he generously bestowed the name of *Behring's Strait*, in honor of the navigator who had first, though unknowingly, passed through it fifty years before.

Beyond Behring's Strait the American coast was found extending upon the *Arctic Sea* towards the east, and was traced in that direction to *Icy Cape*, a point situated in the latitude of 70½ degrees, where the progress of the ships was arrested by the ice. In like manner the Asiatic shore was examined as far westward as it was possible to proceed; and the warm season having by this time passed away, Cook judged it prudent to return to the south, deferring the prosecution of his researches until the ensuing summer.

Oct. 2. On the 2d of October the ships again arrived at Unalashka, where fortunately some Russian traders were found. The chief of these men, Gerassim Ismyloff, was an old and experienced seaman, who had accompanied Benyowsky in his adventurous voyage to China in 1771, and had been for many years engaged in the trade between Kamschatka and the islands. He readily exhibited to Cook all the charts in his possession, and communicated what he knew respecting the geography of that part of the world. The information thus received from him, however, was only so far valuable to the English navigator, as it proved the inaccuracy of the ideas of the Russians with regard to the American continent.

Oct. 26. Leaving Unalashka after some days, the English ships contin-
Nov. 26. ued on their course towards the south, and on the 26th of November reached Owyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands. There
1779. they remained during the winter, and there, on the 16th of Feb-
Feb. 16. ruary, 1779, the gallant and generous Cook was murdered by the natives.

Captain Charles Clerke, upon whom the command of the expedition devolved in consequence of this melancholy event, endeavored in the following summer to effect a passage to the Atlantic through the Arctic Sea. With this view he sailed from Petropaulowsk* [illegible] beyond which, however, his ships were prevented by the ice from advancing as far in any direction as they had gone in the previous year. He [illegible] was obliged to return to the south before the end of the warm season, and on the 22d of August he died near Petropaulowsk. 1779. [illegible] Aug. 22.

Captain John Gore, a native of New England, next assumed the direction of the enterprise; and the ships being considered by the officers unfit, from the bad condition of their rigging, to encounter the storms of another year's voyage in that part of the ocean, it was determined that they should direct their course homeward. Accordingly, in October they sailed from Petropaulowsk, where they had been treated with the utmost hospitality by the Russian authorities; and in December following they anchored at the mouth of the River Tygris in China, near the city of Canton. Oct. Dec. [illegible]

With the stay of the ships at Canton are connected circumstances which gave additional importance to the discoveries made in the expedition.

During their voyage along the northwest coasts of America, the officers and seamen had obtained from the natives of various places which they visited a quantity of the finest furs, in exchange for knives, buttons, and other trifles. These furs were collected without any reference to their value as merchandise, and were used on board as clothes or bedding; in consequence of which the greater portion of them had been entirely spoiled, and the remainder were much injured before the ships reached Petro-Paulowsk. At that place a few of the skins were purchased by the Russian traders, who were anxious to obtain the whole on the same terms; but the officers, having in the mean time acquired information respecting the value of furs in China, prevailed upon the seamen to retain those which they had still on hand, until their arrival at Canton, where they were assured that a better market would be found.

In this expectation they were not disappointed. The furs carried by them to China were the first which entered that empire by sea, all those previously used in the country having been brought by land though the northern frontiers. The supplies thus received had never been equal to the demands; no sooner, therefore, was it reported in Canton that two cargoes of these highly prized objects of comfort and luxury had arrived in the Tygris, than the ships which contained them were surrounded by persons all eager to buy for their own use or upon speculation. The Chinese, according to custom, began by proposing prices far

---

* Called also *Petro-Paulski*, and the *Harbor of Saint Peter and Saint Paul*. The Russians write it *Petropaulowskaia*.

1779. below those which were then current; but the English refusing to accede to such terms, they gradually increased the amount of their offers, and in the end the whole stock of furs was purchased by them, in money and goods, the value of which was not less than ten thousand dollars.

The business on which the English stopped in Canton having been despatched, they sailed from that place in January, 1780, and, passing around the Cape of Good Hope, arrived in the mouth of the Thames on the 4th of October following.

The results of Cook's researches in the north Pacific were certainly far more important than those obtained by any or all of the navigators who had previously explored that part of the sea. The positions of a number of points on the western side of America were for the first time accurately determined, and means were thus afforded for ascertaining approximately the extent of the continent in that direction. The existence of a northern channel of communication between the two oceans, passable by ships, seemed to be entirely disproved; but, in recompense, a vast field for the exercise of industry was opened to the world, by the demonstration of the advantages which were to be derived from the collection of furs on the northern shores of the Pacific, and the sale of them in China.

With regard to the novelty of Cook's discoveries on the northwest side of America, it appears, on comparing his course with those taken by the Spaniards four years previously, that until he had passed the 56th parallel of latitude he saw no land, (with the exception possibly, though not probably, of Nootka Sound,) which had not been already seen by Perez, Bodega, or Heceta; it must be repeated, however, that he had no knowledge of the discoveries effected by either of those navigators. After passing the 56th degree, he was, as he frequently acknowledges, aided, and in a measure guided, by the information gleaned from the accounts of the expeditions of Beering and other Russians who had explored that part of the Pacific before him. This is said without any desire to detract from the merits of the gallant English commander, whose skill and perseverance were as extraordinary as his honesty and magnanimity; but merely to show with what degree of justice his Government could advance claims to the exclusive possession of any part of Northwest America on the strength of his discoveries.

While the British ships under Clerke and Gore were, after the death of Cook, on their second tour through the northernmost parts of the Pacific, the Spaniards were engaged in another attempt to extend their knowledge of the west coasts of America. For this purpose two vessels, called the Princesa and the Favorita, sailed from San Blas on the 11th of February, 1779, under the command, respectively, of Lieutenants Ignacio Arteaga and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. The latter was the same officer who had in 1775 explored the Pacific to the 58th degree of latitude, as before related; and he was again accompanied by Antonio Maurelle as ensign, from whose journal nearly all the information respecting the expedition in question has been derived.

Feb. 11.

[illegible] From 1779.
[illegible] bay Feb. 11.
[illegible] r the May 4.
[illegible] ts vi-
[illegible] which July 1.
[illegible] eded July 9.
[illegible] ding
[illegible] ed a Aug. 1.
[illegible] high
[illegible] must
[illegible] ound.
[illegible] earn.
[illegible] then
[illegible] pro-
[illegible] y the
[illegible] f Au- Aug. 7.
[illegible] San Nov. 21.
[illegible] have
[illegible] ained
[illegible] little
[illegible] o the
[illegible]

[illegible] he first
[illegible] it from
[illegible] specting
[illegible] are by
[illegible] mit the
[illegible] voy-
[illegible]

CHAPTER V.

Voyages and discoveries in the north Pacific, between 1778 and 1790—Commencement of the direct trade in furs from the northwest coasts of America to Canton—Voyage of La Pérouse—First voyages of citizens of the United States to the northwest coasts—Discovery of the Strait of Fuca—Attempt made by John Ledyard to cross the northern part of the American continent.

1776 to 1785. WHILST Cook was engaged in his last expedition, Great Britain became involved in wars with the United States of America, France, and Spain; and as there was no prospect of a speedy termination of the contests at the time when the ships sent out under that commander returned to Europe, the British Government considered it prudent to withhold from the world all information respecting their voyage. The regular journals of the ships, together with the private notes and memoranda of the officers and men which could be collected, were in consequence placed under the charge of the Board of Admiralty, and thus remained concealed until peace had been restored. Notwithstanding this care, however, many of the occurrences of the expedition became known, the importance or the novelty of which was such as to raise to the highest degree the curiosity of the public, not only in England, but in all other civilized countries.

1785. The wars having been at length concluded, the journals of the expedition were published at London in the winter of 1784–'5, under the care of a learned ecclesiastic, in three quarto volumes, accompanied by charts, tables, and all other illustrative appliances; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that the anticipations which had been formed with regard to the importance of their contents were fully realized.

The statements contained in this work respecting the great abundance of animals yielding fine furs in the vicinity of the north Pacific, and the high prices paid for their skins in China, did not fail immediately to arrest the attention of enterprising men; and preparations were commenced in various parts of Europe, in the East Indies, and in the United States of America, to profit by the information. At that period the trade in those articles was conducted almost wholly by the Russians and the British, between which nations, however, there was no competition in this particular. The Russians procured their furs chiefly in the northern parts of their own empire, and exported to China by land all which were not required for their own use. The British fur market was supplied entirely from Hudson's Bay and Canada; and a great portion of the skins there collected were sent to Russia, whence many of them found their way to China, though none had ever been shipped directly for the latter country. That the furs of Canada and Hudson's Bay could be sold advantageously at Canton, appeared to be certain, even allowing for a considerable diminution of prices at that place in consequence of the increase in the supply; and it was supposed that still larger profits might be secured by means of a direct intercourse between China and the northern coasts of the Pacific, where the finest furs were to be obtained in greater quantities and more easily than in any other part of the world. There could be no doubt that this diminution of prices at Canton would take place immediately after the establishment of the trade, and it was probable that the expenses and difficulties of procuring the furs would also be augmented; therefore it was material that those who wished to reap the fullest harvests upon this new field, should commence their labors as speedily as possible. 1785.

The first expedition made to the northwest coasts of America from the south, for the purpose of collecting furs, was conducted by James Hanna, an Englishman, who sailed in a small brig from Canton in April, 1785, and arrived at Nootka Sound in August following. The natives of the surrounding country were in the beginning entirely opposed to all intercourse with the strangers, whom they endeavored to destroy; after a few combats, however, a trade was established between the parties, and the brig returned to Canton before the close of the year, with a cargo of the most valuable furs in place of the old iron and coarse manufactures which she had carried out in the spring.

In the same year an association of merchants, called the *King George's Sound Company*, was formed in London for the prosecution of this trade, by means of vessels sent directly from England to the northwest coasts, for which an exclusive license was granted to them by the South Sea Company; the furs there collected were to be carried for sale to Canton, and from that place, in virtue of a special permission conceded by the East India Company, cargoes of tea were to be brought back to London. This association immediately despatched to the north Pacific two ships, the Queen Charlotte, commanded by Captain Dixon, and the King George, by Captain Portlock, who arrived together in Cook's River in July, 1786. In the course of this and the two following years vessels were also sent to be employed in the fur trade of the Pacific—from Bombay and Calcutta by the East India Company; from Macao and Canton by various individuals, English and Portuguese; and from Ostend, by the Austrian East India Company, or rather under its flag. 1786 to 1788.

All these vessels appeared to have been owned and equipped wholly or principally by British subjects. The French made no commercial expeditions for the same purpose before 1790; their great navigator, La Pérouse, however, on departing for the last time from his country, in August, 1785, was instructed "particularly to explore those parts of the northwest coast of America which had not been examined by Captain Cook, and of which the Russian accounts gave no idea," with the view of obtaining information relative to the fur trade, as well as of learning "whether in those unknown parts some river or internal sea may not be found communicating with Hudson's or Baffin's Bay." The

1786. multiplicity of the affairs in every department of knowledge, to which La Pérouse was required to attend during this voyage, June 24 to Sept. 24. prevented him from devoting more than three months to the objects above specified; and of that time he passed one-third at anchor in a bay named by him *Port des Français*, near Mount Saint Elias, where he first made the land on the northwest coast of America. From the Port des Français he sailed along the western shores of the continent and of the great islands in its vicinity, which were then supposed to be parts of the main land, Sept. 16. as far Monterey; and thence, after a few days spent in making Sept. 24. observations and inquiries, he departed for the East Indies.

The remarks and opinions of the gallant and accomplished French navigator, upon many subjects relative to the northwest coast, display great sagacity, and have been since generally confirmed; he, however, made no important discoveries, and the whole value of the information acquired by him was lost to the world in consequence of the delay in publishing it. The journals of his expedition did not appear in print until 1797, at which period the Pacific coasts of North America were almost as well known as those of its Atlantic side.

1786. The Spanish Government endeavored also to secure for itself a portion of the advantages to be derived from the fur trade. Agreeably to its usual policy in such cases, an agent was sent from Mexico to the western side of California, where he was charged to collect all the furs procurable at the different settlements, and thence to carry them for sale to Canton. The adventure, however, proved unprofitable. A few skins only, and those of inferior quality, could be collected in California; and ere the agent arrived with them in Canton, which was in the spring of 1787. 1787, the price of furs had been so much lowered that scarcely enough could be obtained from the sale of his stock to cover the expenses of its transportation. The Canton market was, indeed, already glutted with furs, which were, according to La Pérouse, actually cheaper there in that year than in Kamschatka.

The Russians were in the mean time extending their intercourse with the American coasts and their establishments upon them; even before the publication of Cook's journals, they had begun to avail themselves of the information respecting his discoveries, which had been obtained while the English ships were at Unalashka and Petro-Paulowsk, and an association had been formed among the principal fur-merchants of Eastern Russia for 1783 to 1787. the more effectual conduct of their affairs. In August, 1783, three vessels which had been equipped by this association for a long voyage sailed for America from Ochotsk, under the direction of Gregory Shellikof, one of the chiefs of the company. Their expedition lasted four years, during which period the shores of the continent and islands between the southern extremity of Aliaska and Prince William's Sound were explored, and several colonies and factories were established, particularly on the large *Island of Kuktak*, or *Kodiak*, situated near the entrance of Cook's Inlet. This Shellikof was a man of great intrepidity and perseverance, well acquainted with the business in which he was engaged, and never troubled by any scruples with regard to the humanity of measures after their expediency had been demonstrated. 1787. He is said to have exhibited the most barbarous disposition in his treatment of the natives on the American coasts, of whom he often put to death whole tribes upon the slightest prospect of advantage.[*]

In 1788 two other vessels were sent out by this association, 1788. under Gerassim Ismyloff, one of the traders whom Cook had found at Unalashka, and Demitri Betschareff. They proceeded as far eastward as Mount San Jacinto, or Mount Edgecumb, trading with the natives and taking possession of the country in the name of the Empress of Russia.

The Russian Government became also desirous to have a scientific expedition made through these seas, for which purpose the Empress engaged Captain Joseph Billings, one of Cook's lieutenants, and some other English and Germans, as officers, astronomers, and naturalists. These persons were sent in 1786 to Ochotsk, where two vessels were being built for their voyage. The preparations were, however, conducted so slowly, that Billings did not get to sea until May, 1790, he and his party having been in the interval engaged in exploring the northern coasts of Siberia. An account of their expedition will be presented hereafter.

The citizens of the United States of America appeared in the 1788 to 1793. north Pacific to claim a share of the advantages of the fur trade, within a short period after its commencement in that quarter of the ocean. All the accounts hitherto published of their early expeditions for this purpose are defective, and in general erroneous; very little information concerning them is, indeed, to be obtained at the present day, and that little must be in part collected from the journals of British and Spanish navigators, upon whose statements we cannot always rely. From the authorities here indicated, as well as from some others more worthy of credit,[†] have been compiled the slender notices of American voyages and discoveries in the Pacific, between 1786 and 1793, contained in this and the two next succeeding chapters.

The first voyages from the United States to the northwest 1789. coasts of America were made by the ship *Columbia*, of 220 tons, and the sloop *Washington*, or *Lady Washington*, of 90 tons, under the command, respectively, of John Kendrick and Robert Gray. They were fitted out by an association of merchants at Boston,

---

[*] Sauer's Account of the Russian Expedition, under Billings.

[†] The principal authorities to which reference will be made in these notices are: the statement of Charles Bulfinch, one of the owners of the Columbia and Washington, appended to the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations to the House of Representatives of the United States on the 4th of January, 1839, and published in many newspapers both before and since; the Journal of the Voyages of Captain John Meares in the North Pacific in 1788, and his memorial and documents addressed to the British Parliament in the following year; the Journal of the Voyage of Captain George Vancouver in the Pacific from 1791 to 1795; the Journal of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana; and the manuscript Journal of the Voyage of the Brig Hope of Boston, commanded by Joseph Ingraham, from 1790 to 1793, which is preserved in the library of the Department of State at Washington.

1787. and, having been furnished with sea-letters from the Federal Government, and passports from the authorities of the State of Massachusetts, they sailed together from Boston on the 30th of
Sept. 30. September, 1787.[*]

The two vessels proceeded first to the Cape Verd Islands, where they obtained refreshments, and thence to the Falkland Islands, among which they passed a fortnight. They then doubled Cape Horn, and were immediately afterwards separated during a violent gale. The Washington, continuing her course northward,
1788. arrived at Nootka on the 17th of September, 1788. The Colum-
Sept. 17. bia received some damage in the storm, in consequence of which
May 24. she on the 24th of May put into the principal harbor of the Island of Juan Fernandez, where she was treated with hospitality by the Spanish commandant, Don Blas Gonzales.[†] The damage having been repaired, Captain Kendrick set sail again on the
May 28. 28th, and joined the Washington before the end of September at
Sept. Nootka Sound, where both vessels spent the winter.

Nootka was, indeed, the place to which vessels sailing for the northwest coasts of America from the south generally directed their course at that time, and from which they took their departure on returning; as it appeared to offer greater facilities for obtaining water and provisions, as well as for repairs, than any other harbor in that part of the ocean. The sound is easily entered and quitted with the prevailing winds, and it affords secure and convenient anchorage for ships of any size, particularly in a small bay on the northwest side, called by the natives *Uquot* or *Uquatl*, and by the English *Friendly Cove*. Although it lies between the 49th and 50th parallels, and thus corresponds in latitude with the mouth of the St. Lawrence, its climate appears from all accounts to be much milder, and more nearly resembling that of Halifax in Nova Scotia, which is situated five degrees farther southward. The grains, fruits, and vegetables, as well as the domestic fowls and quadrupeds of England and the northern States of the American Union, thrive there and produce plentifully; the surrounding country is covered with the finest timber, and the waters abound in fish, and in the animals yielding the most precious furs.

The aborigines of this part of North America are certainly among the most savage and treacherous of the whole human family; they are of a race entirely distinct from any of those which were found occupying the middle and eastern sections of the continent, and probably belong to that of the *Tschutzky*, inhabiting the northernmost regions of Asia. These barbarians evinced, at first, the utmost hostility to the fur-traders; they, however, soon acquired a taste for blankets, knives, and other foreign articles, to gratify which they became willing not only to tolerate the presence of the strangers, but also to hunt, fish, cut wood, and labor for them in various other ways. 1785 to 1790.

---

[*] The owners of these vessels were Joseph Barrell, Samuel Brown, Charles Bulfinch, John Darby, Crowel Hatch, and John M Pintard; one of whom, C. Bulfinch, is still (1840) living at Boston. Each vessel took out, for distribution among the natives of the places which she might visit, a number of coins, struck for the purpose, bearing on one side a ship and a sloop under sail, with the words "*Columbia and Washington commanded by John Kendrick,*" and on the reverse, "*Fitted out at Boston, North America, for the Pacific Ocean by*"—encircling the names of the proprietors. A fac-simile of this medal will be found on the map.

[†] This officer was soon after deprived of his command and arrested, by his superior, the captain general of Chili, for thus disobeying the law of the Indies prohibiting the entrance of foreigners under any pretext into the American dominions of Spain.

The king, or principal chief, of the tribes residing in the vicinity of Nootka Sound at that period, was named *Maquinna* or *Maquilla;* his relation *Wiccannish* ruled over the districts next adjoining on the southeast, and bordering upon the Bays of *Clyoquot* or Port Cox, and *Nittinat* or Berkley Sound. They were both courageous, artful, and ferocious savages, as was amply demonstrated by their many acts of blood and perfidy against each other, and against the foreigners who frequented their territories.

From Nootka, the shores of the continent, and those of the western sides of the outermost great islands in its vicinity, were explored by the English and American fur-traders northward as far as Cook's River, and southward nearly to Cape Mendocino. The vessels thus employed were in general commanded by experienced and intelligent mariners, well acquainted with the science of navigation, and provided with the best instruments for ascertaining geographical positions; and it being material for each, in order to obtain a cargo of furs speedily and cheaply, to find as many places as possible which had not been previously visited by the others, a great deal of tolerably precise information relative to these coasts was collected during the five years immediately following the commencement of the trade. This information was, indeed, in most cases, kept secret by those who had acquired it; interchanges of charts and notes, however, occasionally took place among them, and at length, in the course of 1789 and 1790, complete narratives of three commercial expeditions to the north Pacific were published in London by those who had respectively commanded in them.* These works are all tedious, on account of the minuteness of the details of personal and trifling matters, and the statements are often erroneous or false; they, however, afford the means of tracing with sufficient exactness the progress of discovery, and what may be called *the history* of the northwestern portion of America, within the abovementioned period.

It will be proper here to give a sketch of some of the most remarkable discoveries effected by the British and American fur-traders between 1785 and 1790.

1787. In the summer of 1787 Captain Berkely, in the ship Imperial Eagle, from Ostend, while examining the coast southeast from Nootka, entered a broad arm of the sea,† between the 48th and 49th degrees of latitude, which appeared to penetrate the American continent in an easterly direction; and as it corresponded almost exactly with the mouth of the passage through which the

---

* Portlock, Dixon, and Meares. The narrative of the last mentioned person will be frequently referred to in the sequel.

† It is singular that this important discovery should have been made under the flag of Austria.

1787. Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, declared that he had sailed into the Atlantic in 1592, it immediately received the name of *the Strait of Fuca.* Berkely did not, however, explore it to any considerable
1788. distance from the Pacific. Captain Meares in 1788 sent one of his mates in a boat up the passage, who reported, on returning, that he "had sailed thirty leagues in it from the sea, and that it was there about fifteen leagues broad, with a clear horizon stretching to the east about fifteen leagues farther." Captain Gray, in the Washington, in 1789, proceeded fifty miles in the same passage, and found it nowhere more than five leagues in width. An exaggerated account of this part of Gray's voyage was carried to Europe by Meares in 1790, and it contributed materially to induce the Governments of Spain and England to order those expeditions, which were so successfully conducted during the three following years by the navigators of each nation. It was said that the Washington had sailed through the strait into an interior sea, from which she passed again into the Pacific about the 56th degree of latitude. The account that such a voyage had been made was incorrect; but Captain Gray collected information from the natives of the coasts, which left no doubt on his mind that the passage communicated, northward of Nootka, with the Pacific, by an opening to which he had in the summer of 1789 given the name of Pintard's Sound, but which is now generally called Queen Charlotte's Sound. This opinion was verified in 1792 by Vancouver, and Galiano and Valdes.

1787. About the time of the discovery, or rather the re-discovery, of the Strait of Fuca, Captain Dixon, of the Queen Charlotte, from London, conceived that the land which had been seen by the Spaniards in 1774 and 1775, between the 51st and the 54th parallels of latitude, was separated from the American continent by sea, and he accordingly bestowed upon it the name of *Queen Charlotte's Island.* This supposition was confirmed in the sum-
May. mer of 1789, first by Captain Gray of the Washington, and after-
July. wards by Captain Douglass of the Iphigenia, who separately circumnavigated the island. Gray, believing himself to be the original discoverer of the territory, called it *Washington's Isle;* under which appellation, as well as the other and more common one, it will be found laid down on the map accompanying this memoir. In the same summer a group of small islands were found near the continent, between it and the eastern side of Queen Charlotte's Island, by Captain Duncan, of the Princess Royal, from London, who in like manner applied to them the name of his vessel; Fleurieu considers them as the same which were seen in 1786 by La Pérouse, and were called by him *Isles de Fleurieu.*

The discovery of these islands, together with other circumstances, led to the suspicion that the whole of the territories extending on the Pacific, between the Strait of Fuca and the vicinity of Mount Saint Elias, which had previously been considered as parts of the American continent, might be really a collection of islands; and, as this suspicion gained strength, the old account of the voyage of Admiral Fonté to the Atlantic began to receive some credit. The islands and reputed islands in question were supposed to be *the Archipelago of San Lazaro*, which were described in that account as situated near the 53d degree of latitude; and this apparent confirmation of a part of the story gave encouragement for the hope that the *Rio de los Reyes*, and the other waters through which the Admiral was said to have sailed on his way to the Atlantic, in 1640, would also be found. 1788.

At this period, moreover, an attempt was made by Captain John Meares, in the Felice, from Macao, to discover a harbor or river, which was represented on the Spanish maps as communicating with the Pacific near the 46th degree of latitude, immediately south of a cape called *San Roque*. This opening had been first seen by Bruno Heceta in August, 1775, and was called on the maps *Entrada de Heceta*, or *Entrada de Ascencion*, and in some instances *Rio de San Roque*. The account given by Meares of his search is worthy of particular attention. July.

Meares says that he discovered a headland in the latitude of 46 degrees 47 minutes, which he called *Cape Shoalwater;* sailing thence along the coast, towards the south, "an high bluff promontory bore off us southeast* at the distance of only four leagues, for which we steered to double, with the hope that between it and Cape Shoalwater we should find some sort of harbor. We now discovered distant land beyond this promontory, and we pleased ourselves with the expectation of its being Cape Saint Roc of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a good port. By half-past eleven we doubled this cape at the distance of three miles, having a clear and perfect view of the shore in every part, on which we did not discern a living creature, or the least trace of habitable life. A prodigious easterly swell rolled on the shore, and the soundings gradually decreased from forty to sixteen fathoms over a hard sandy bottom. After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a very promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation. July 6.

"The high land that formed the boundaries of the bay was at a great distance, and a flat level country occupied the intervening space; the bay itself took rather a westerly direction. As we steered in, the water shoaled to nine, eight, and seven fathoms, when breakers were seen from the deck right ahead, and from the mast-head they were observed to extend across the bay; we, therefore, hauled out, and directed our course to the opposite shore, to see if there was any channel, or if we could discover any port. July 7.

"The name of *Cape Disappointment* was given to the promontory, and the bay obtained the title of *Deception Bay*. By an indifferent meridian observation, it lies in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes north, and in the computed longitude of 235 degrees 34 minutes east. *We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts.*"

This assertion, though somewhat ungrammatically expressed,

---

* Meares's Account of his Voyage, printed at London in 1790, page 167.

1788. is yet sufficiently clear and explicit. Captain Meares was convinced by his observations that no great stream entered the Pacific from the American continent near the latitude and places described by him. How far this conclusion was correct will be shown hereafter.

In addition to the discoveries and examinations here specified, the British and American fur-traders, during the period between 1785 and 1790, explored many other parts of the American coast which had been seen by the Spaniards or by Cook, and made numerous corrections in the charts of those navigators; much, however, remained to be done in that way before the western shores of the continent could be accurately known, as may be seen by merely comparing the charts and accounts of Portlock and Meares with those of Vancouver published in 1797.

The fur trade between the northwest coasts of America and Canton was, for some years after its establishment, upon the whole, less profitable than had been anticipated, in consequence doubtless of the difficulty of forming new channels of commercial communication in China. Whilst the market at Canton was overstocked with those articles, they were in great demand in the northern parts of the empire, which continued to be, as formerly, supplied directly from Russia. The first adventure of the citizens of the United States in this trade was entirely unprofitable. The skins collected by the Columbia and Washington during the summer of 1789 did not exceed in number eight hundred; they were carried in the autumn of that year to Canton, by Captain Gray in the Columbia, (Kendrick remaining on the coast in the Washington,) and were there exchanged for teas to the value of about sixty thousand dollars, with which the ship arrived, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, at Boston, on the 9th of August, 1790. The proceeds of the sale of the teas did not cover the expenses of the outfit and voyage, and some of the owners, in consequence, sold out their shares; the others, however, determined to persevere, and the Columbia was accordingly soon after sent back to the Pacific.

It would be improper to omit to notice here the attempt made in 1788 by John Ledyard, a native of Connecticut, to traverse the northern portion of the American continent. Ledyard had accompanied Cook, in the capacity of sergeant of marines, in the last voyage made by that navigator; and, after its conclusion, he went to Paris in order to obtain the means of engaging in the fur trade of the north Pacific. Failing in that object, he undertook, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, then Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States in France, to make the attempt above mentioned, for which purpose it was arranged that he should go by land to Kamschatka, thence by sea to Nootka, or some other place on the northwest coast of America, and thence across the continent to the United States. With this view, permission was obtained by Mr. Jefferson from the Empress of Russia for Ledyard to pass through her dominions; and, thus protected, he advanced on his way as far as Irkutsk in Siberia, near Ochotsk, where he expected to embark for America. At that place, however, he was arrested by order of the Empress on the 24th of February, 1788, and, having been put into an open carriage, he was thence conveyed, without being allowed to stop, to the frontiers of Poland, where he was liberated with a warning not again to enter the Russian territory. On the 15th of November following he died at Cairo, just as he was preparing to set out on a journey in search of the source of the river Nile. 1788.

In the latter part of the period to which the present chapter relates, events occurred upon the northwest side of America, which rendered those territories for the first time the subject of dispute between the Governments of European nations. The seizure of two British trading vessels by a Spanish commandant at Nootka, in the spring of 1789, was near occasioning a general war in Europe; and the storm was only averted by the abandonment on the part of Spain of her claims to the exclusive navigation of the Pacific, and to the possession of the unoccupied territories of America bordering upon that ocean. The circumstances connected with this dispute will be detailed in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Jealousy and alarm of the Spanish Government at the proceedings of the fur-traders in the north Pacific.—Voyage of observation by Martinez and Haro in 1788.—Remonstrances of the Court of Madrid to that of St. Petersburgh.—Voyages of Meares and Colnett.—Occupation of Nootka, and seizure of vessels at that place by the Spaniards in 1789.—Dispute between Great Britain and Spain ended by a treaty between those Powers relative to the navigation of the Pacific and the possession of the vacant coasts of America.

1786. The movements of the fur-traders in the north Pacific were from the beginning regarded with uneasiness by the Spanish Government. The establishment of foreigners upon the coasts of that ocean adjacent to Mexico, the evil so long dreaded at Madrid, appeared imminent; and there were no means which could with prudence be employed to arrest it. Remonstrances upon such points, addressed to the Courts of London and St. Petersburgh, would most probably be unavailing, while any attempt to enforce the exclusive regulations upon the coasts might involve Spain in wars which it was then material to avoid. Under such circumstances, all that could be done for the time was to watch the progress of the evil, in order that the most proper measures might be adopted for counteracting it, whenever opportunities should occur.

1788. March 8. In consequence of instructions to this effect, the Viceroy of Mexico despatched from San Blas, in the spring of 1788, two armed vessels, the *Princesa* and the *San Carlos*, under the command of Estevan José Martinez, who was ordered to examine the northwest coasts of the continent, and to procure as accurate information as possible with regard to the views of the Russians and other foreigners in that quarter. These vessels sailed direct for Prince William's Sound, where they arrived in the latter part May 28. of May, and were received with civility by the superintendents of the Russian Trading Company's establishments. The summer was passed by Martinez in visiting the different factories and forts of that association on the continent, and islands between the sound and Unalaschka; and the crews of his vessels beginning to Dec. 5. suffer from scurvy as the cold season approached, he returned, by way of Monterey, to San Blas, without having seen any other part of the northwest coast.

According to the report* addressed to the Viceroy of Mexico

---

* Of this report, Humboldt says: "I found in the archives of the Viceroyalty of Mexico a large volume in folio, bearing the title of *Reconocimiento de los quatro Establecimientos Rusos al norte de la California, hecho en 1788*. The historical account of the voyage of Martinez contained in this manuscript furnishes, however, very few data relative to the Russian colonies in the new continent. As no person among his crew understood a word of the Russian language, they could only communicate with the people of that nation by signs."

1788. by Martinez, the Russian establishments in America were four in number, all of them situated west of Prince William's Sound; and their population, including soldiers and hunters, amounted to four hundred. Beyond (that is, eastward of the sound) they had not advanced; but it was understood that a large force was about to be sent from Asia, for the purpose of occupying Nootka Sound in the name of the Empress of Russia. The latter part of this account doubtless bore reference to the expedition of Ismyloff and Betscharoff, which was commenced in the summer of that year.

Upon receiving this information of the intentions of the Russians with regard to Nootka, the Viceroy of Mexico determined to anticipate them, if possible, by immediately taking possession of the place for his own Sovereign. With this view he ordered Martinez to sail thither, with his vessels well armed and manned, and to occupy and defend the sound as a part of his Catholic Majesty's dominions; in case any British or Russian vessels should present themselves there, they were to be treated with civility and friendship, but their commanders were at the same time to be informed of the establishment of the Spanish authority over the territory.* With these instructions, Martinez quitted San Blas in February, 1789, and arrived at Nootka on the 6th of May following.

1789. The report concerning the projected seizure of Nootka by the Russians was at the same time communicated by the Viceroy to his Government, and it was thereupon determined at Madrid that a memorial† should be addressed to the Empress of Russia, remonstrating against the encroachments of her subjects upon the territories of his Catholic Majesty. It is to be remarked, that in this memorial *Prince William's Sound is assumed as the limit between the dominions of the two Sovereigns; the first instance of an admission by the Spanish Government of the right of any other Power to occupy a part of America bordering upon the Pacific.* The Empress of Russia answered, that orders had been already given to her subjects to make no settlements in places belonging to other nations, and if those orders had been violated with regard to Spanish America, she hoped his Catholic Majesty would arrest the encroachments in a friendly manner. With this answer, which was more courteous than specific, the Spanish minister professed himself content; observing, however, that "Spain could not be responsible for what her officers might do at places so distant, while they were acting under general orders not to allow any settlements to be made by other nations on the Spanish American continent."

While this diplomatic correspondence was passing between the Courts of Madrid and St. Petersburgh, events were occurring in May.

---

* For the instructions given to Martinez, see the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, which may be considered as an official work.

† See the memorial addressed by the Court of Spain to that of Great Britain on the 13th of June, 1790, in the London Annual Register for that year, page 294.

1789. the northwest coast of America, from which the most material consequences resulted. These events have been variously represented, or rather misrepresented, by the historians* to whom we usually look for information respecting them. It may, indeed, be asserted, without fear of disproof, that in all the accounts hitherto published of the immediate causes of the controversy between Great Britain and Spain in 1790, relative to the navigation of the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and the unoccupied portions of America bordering upon those seas, the most important circumstances are exhibited in a form and light entirely different from those which would be produced by a full and impartial review of the evidences.

With the object of endeavoring to correct these errors, a narrative of the events above mentioned will here be presented, drawn entirely from the original sources of information.† Many of the

---

* Viz: Bisset's Continuation of Hume and Smollett; Belsham's History of Great Britain; Wade's Chronological History of England; the History of Spain and Portugal, by Busk, published under the direction of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana; the History of Maritime and Inland Adventure and Discovery, forming part of Lardner's Encyclopædia; Brenton's Naval History of Great Britain; Gifford's Life of William Pitt; &c. The accounts of these British writers have been generally admitted and stated as correct in the reports respecting the northwest coast, presented by committees to the Congress of the United States; and no attempt seems to have been made to controvert or question them in the course of any negotiations between the United States and Great Britain.

† These sources of information are:

I. Journal of Voyages in the Pacific Ocean in 1788 and 1789, by John Meares. In the Appendix to the Journal of Meares is the

II. Memorial addressed to the House of Commons of Great Britain on the 13th of May, 1790, by John Meares, in behalf of the owners of certain vessels seized at Nootka Sound in 1789 by the Spanish commandant Martinez, praying that measures might be taken to obtain indemnification for those losses, as also for the seizure of certain lands and houses on the northwest coast of America, claimed by the petitioners as their property. An abstract of this memorial, *carefully* composed so as exclude all circumstances which might weaken the claims of the petitioners, may be found in the Annual Register for 1790, page 287. The *journal* of the voyages of Meares relates, in part, to the circumstances which form the subject of the memorial; on comparing the two, it will be found that they are frequently at variance.

III. Account of Voyages in the Pacific, made between 1790 and 1794 by Captain George Vancouver of the British navy, who had been sent by his Government to explore that ocean, and also to superintend the delivery by the Spanish authorities of certain territories at and near Nootka Sound, in virtue of the treaty of October, 1790.

IV. Account of a Voyage in the Pacific, made in 1793 and 1794 by Captain James Colnett. The only parts of this work relating to the affairs in question are the Introduction and a note at page 96.

V. The Introduction by Navarrete to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Spanish Schooners Sutil and Mexicana in 1792, which is here cited only because it has been consulted.

In addition to the above-mentioned printed works, is the following, as yet unpublished:

VI. Letter written at Nootka Sound in August, 1792, by Joseph Ingraham, master of the American merchant brig Hope, and signed by himself and Robert Gray, master of the Ship Columbia, respecting the events at Nootka in 1789, of which one or both of them were witnesses; it was written in compliance with a request from Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandant at Nootka, by whom a copy of it was delivered to Vancouver. In the first volume of the Narrative of Vancouver, page 389, may be found a synopsis of this letter, in which the evidence of the Americans is carefully garbled to suit the purposes of the British commander. A copy of the letter in full, extracted from the original Journal of Ingraham, is given in the appendix [D] to this memoir.

1789.

details may at first appear trifling and unworthy of note; it is believed, however, that none have been introduced which are not indispensable for the attainment of the end proposed, while no circumstances have been omitted which might, if related, have led to different conclusions. This narrative must be preceded by some observations and statements, which are necessary in order that proper judgments may be formed upon the circumstances.

In the first place, it is certain that, *before the arrival of the Spanish commander Martinez at Nootka, in May, 1789, no settlement, factory, or commercial or military establishment whatsoever, had been founded or even attempted; and no jurisdiction had been exercised by the subjects or authorities of any civilized nation in any part of America bordering upon the Pacific between Port San Francisco and Prince William's Sound.* The Spaniards, the British, the Russians, and the French had landed at various places on these coasts, where they had displayed flags and erected crosses and monuments in token of the claims of their respective sovereigns to the surrounding territories; but such acts are, and were then, generally regarded as idle ceremonies, securing no effectual rights to those who engaged in them. Nor does it appear that any portion of the soil within these limits had become the property of a foreigner, notwithstanding that the British Government did in 1790 demand, and Spain engaged by treaty to restore, several pieces of land and buildings in the vicinity of Nootka Sound, which were claimed as belonging to John Meares and other British subjects at the time of the occupation of that place by the forces of his Catholic Majesty. Although this demand was thus formally urged and admitted, many circumstances, which will be related in the sequel, combine to prove conclusively that it was entirely destitute of foundation.

The right of sovereignty over this vast region was claimed by the King of Spain, and no other Power had formally contested his pretensions, notwithstanding the Russians were advancing upon the continent in the north, and the British ministry had, it is said, a short time previously deliberated upon the question whether New Albion or New Holland should be selected for the establishment of their contemplated penal colony. That the Spaniards were the first discoverers of the west coasts of America as far north as the 58th degree of latitude, with the exception of the small portion near the 56th parallel seen by the Russians in 1741, has been already demonstrated; the fact is as indisputable as that the Portuguese discovered the south coasts of Africa. To assume that Spain thereby acquired the right of excluding all other nations from these coasts, whether her subjects settled on them or not, would be absurd; but it would, at the same time, be unjust to deny that her title to occupy them was better than that of any other nation, not only in virtue of priority of discovery, but also from their contiguity with her own undoubted possessions. It is unnecessary to indicate the various modes in which this *latter* right might have been exercised by Spain without giving just cause of complaint to other Powers; the object of these observa-

1789. tions being merely to show that her occupation of Nootka in 1789 was, *per se*, conformable with justice, and with the recognised principles of national law.

1788. Jan. 1. In order to present a satisfactory view of the events attending that occupation, the account must commence from the month of January, 1788, when two vessels, the *Felice* and the *Iphigenia*, sailed from Macao,* for the northwest coast of America, to be employed in the fur trade, under the direction of John Meares, a lieutenant in the British navy, then on half-pay, who went in the Felice. The Iphigenia also carried a British subject, William Douglas, as supercargo; both vessels, however, were commanded by Portuguese, they were both furnished with Portuguese passports and other papers, showing them to be the property of Juan Cavallo, a Portuguese merchant of Macao, and they quitted that place under the flag of Portugal. The instructions† for the conduct of the voyage were written in the Portuguese language, and contained nothing whatsoever calculated to afford a suspicion that any other than Portuguese subjects were engaged in the enterprise. These instructions conclude with the following injunction to the commanders of the vessels: "Should you meet with any Russian, English, or Spanish vessels, you will treat them with civility, and allow them, if they are authorized, to examine your papers; should they, however, attempt to seize you, or to carry you out of your way, you will prevent it by every means in your power, and repel force by force. In case you should in such conflict have the superiority, you will take possession of the vessel that attacked you, as also of her cargo, and bring both, with the officers and crew, to China, that they may be condemned as legal prizes, and the crew punished as pirates."

Notwithstanding all these evidences of ownership and national character, it is asserted by Mr. Meares, in the memorial addressed by him to the British Government in 1790, that the Felice and the Iphigenia were actually and *bona fide* British property, employed in the service of British subjects only; that Cavallo had no concern or interest in them, his name being merely used for the purpose of obtaining permission from the Governor of Macao to navigate under the Portuguese flag, and thus to evade the excessive port charges demanded by the Chinese from all other European nations; and that Messrs. Meares and Douglas were really the commanders of the vessels, instead of the two Portuguese who appeared as such in their papers. These assertions may have been, at least in part, true; but the documents attached by Meares to his memorial amply prove that the deception was continued at Nootka, where there were no Chinese authorities, although no hint is given, in his account of the voyages of the vessels, that either of them was, or ever appeared to be, other than British. Greater discrepancies, positive as well as negative, between the *journal* and the *memorial*, remain to be noticed. 1788.

---

* Macao is situated on the southern extremity of an island near the mouth of the River Tygris in China, about sixty miles below Canton. It was granted to the Portuguese by the Emperor of China in 1518, and has ever since remained in their possession, although the Chinese Government exercises considerable control over all their proceedings.

† Appendix, No. 1, to Meares's Account of his Voyage to the Pacific.

The truth with regard to the vessels probably was, that they were actually and *bona fide* Portuguese property, though some of the persons in whose service they were then employed might have been British subjects. The Portuguese flag at that time offered peculiar advantages for the prosecution of the fur trade, besides the freedom from the port charges of the Chinese; for no British vessel could engage in the business without becoming liable to confiscation, except those of the King George's Sound Company, which had obtained a privilege to that effect from the South Sea Company of London. The instructions to the commanders of the Felice and the Iphigenia, to seize and bring to Macao for trial any *English vessels* which might attempt to interrupt them in their voyage, were doubtless levelled at those of the King George's Sound Company, which were then expected in the Pacific, with orders and materials for establishing forts and factories on the northwest coast of America. With regard to these instructions it should be added, that, although they are remarkably precise and minute, no allusion whatsoever is made in them to the acquisition of land or the erection of buildings in America.

From Macao the Iphigenia sailed for Cook's River, while Meares in the Felice proceeded to Nootka Sound, which he entered on the 13th of May. There he immediately began to build May 13. a small vessel for coasting, and, being desirous during the progress of this work to take a trip to the southward, he made arrangements with King Maquinna, who, as related in Mr. Meares's Journal of the Voyage, page 114, "most readily consented to grant us a spot of ground in his territory, whereon an house might be built for the accommodation of the people we intended to leave behind, and also promised us his assistance and protection for the party who were destined to remain at Nootka during our absence. In return for this kindness, and to insure the continuance of it, the chief was presented with a pair of pistols, which he had regarded with an eye of solicitation ever since our arrival. Upon this spot a house sufficiently spacious to contain all the party intended to be left at the Sound was erected; a strong breastwork was thrown up around it, enclosing a considerable area of ground, which, with one piece of cannon placed in such a manner as to command the cove and village of Nootka, formed a fortification sufficient to secure the party from any intrusion."

That this *spot of ground* was granted by Maquinna, and was to be occupied by the strangers only for temporary purposes, is clear from the above statement, and Meares nowhere in the *journal* of his voyage pretends that he acquired permanent possession of it, or of any other land in America; on the contrary, he expressly states, page 130, "that, as a bribe to secure Maquinna's attachment, he was promised that when we finally left the coast he should enter into full possession of the house and all the goods thereunto belonging." In his *memorial to Parliament*, however, he declares that "immediately on his arrival at Nootka Sound, he

1788. May. purchased from Maquilla, the chief of the district contiguous to and surrounding that place, a spot of ground whereon he built a house for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade with the natives, and hoisted British colors thereon." Among the documents attached to the memorial, no mention is made of this purchase, except in the information of William Graham, a seaman of the Felice, *taken in London after the date of the memorial*, who declares that "he saw Mr. Meares deliver some articles of merchandise to Maquilla, the sovereign Prince of the said sound, which he then understood and believed were given as consideration for lands required by Mr. Meares for an establishment on shore."[*] The British Government, as will be seen, went still farther, and claimed the whole territory surrounding Nootka as included within the terms of this asserted purchase.

Such is the evidence upon which the British historians of that period insist that *Meares purchased a large tract of land at Nootka, and established on it a factory defended by a fort under the British flag.*

Having completed his arrangements, Meares sailed in the Felice towards the south, leaving a part of his crew at Nootka, to which place he did not return until the latter part of July. During this period he endeavored to explore the Strait of Fuca, and to find the mouth of the great River San Roque, near the 46th degree of latitude, in both of which attempts he was, as before related, unsuccessful. He declares in his memorial that he likewise "obtained from Wiccanish, the chief of the district surrounding Port Cox and Port Effingham, (places thus named by himself, but otherwise known as Clyoquot and Nittinat,) situated in the latitudes of 48 and 49 degrees, in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district, as also permission to build any storehouses or other edifices which he might judge necessary; and that he also acquired the same privileges of exclusive trade from Tatootche, the chief of the country bordering upon the Strait of Fuca, and purchased from him a tract of land within the said strait, which one of his officers took possession of in the King's name, calling the same *Tatootche*, in honor of the chief."

Of these purchases and cessions of territory there is no other evidence than the declaration of Mr. Meares in his *memorial*;[†] for

---

[*] The only statement besides this declaration, tending to confirm the assertion of Meares in his memorial, is that (hereafter noticed) made to Vancouver in 1792 at Nootka, by Robert Duffin, who had also been one of the crew of the Felice in 1788. He is represented by Vancouver (vol. 1, page 406) as declaring that he witnessed the purchase by Meares "of the whole of the land which forms Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, in his Britannic Majesty's name, for eight sheets of copper and some trifles."

[†] It is probable, from the numerous discrepancies between Meares's Journal of his Voyage and his memorial, that the former was written and printed before the latter was drawn up. We may also suspect, from the silence of all the documents brought to London with regard to the purchases of lands on the northwest coast, that the idea of setting up this claim suggested itself, or was suggested, to Meares *after* his arrival in England.

they are not noticed either in the documents attached to that memorial, 1788.
or in the Journal of his Voyage, which is tediously minute
as to this trip, or any where else; yet his claim, based solely upon
his own statement, was supported by his Government and admitted
by that of Spain.

After the return of Meares to Nootka Sound, the sloop Washington, Sept. 17.
Captain Gray, arrived there from Boston; the small vessel
which had been commenced by the crew of the Felice in the spring
was completed, and received the name of *Northwest America;* and
the Iphigenia came in from the northern coasts laden with furs. Sept. 24.
As a number of skins had also been obtained by the Felice during
the summer, Meares determined to transfer to that vessel all those
in the Iphigenia, and to sail with them immediately for Macao;
which he accordingly did, leaving the sound on the 28th of September. Sept. 28.
In the course of the following month the Ship Columbia, Oct.
Captain Kendrick, arrived from Boston, and the Iphigenia
and Northwest America departed for the Sandwich Islands, leaving
the two American vessels to winter at Nootka.

Meares reached Macao in the Felice early in December, and Dec.
soon afterwards two vessels, the Princess Royal and the Prince of
Wales, belonging to the King George's Sound Company, arrived
at that place under the command of James Colnett, an officer of
the British navy on half pay. In the latter vessels also came an
agent of the said company, between whom and the proprietors of
the Felice and Iphigenia an arrangement was made for uniting
the interests of both parties. In consequence of this arrangement,
the Felice was sold or dismissed, and the Princess Royal, together 1789.
with a ship called the Argonaut, bought for the purpose by
the association, were despatched to Nootka, under the direction
of Colnett, who sailed in the Argonaut. These vessels appear to April.
have been navigated under the British flag; Cavallo could not
have acted as their owner, for he had become a bankrupt, and his
failure was probably the cause of the formation of the new company.

The management of the affairs of the association at Macao appears to have been committed entirely to Meares, who drew up the instructions for Colnett. From these instructions, of which a copy is appended by Meares to his memorial, it is evident that there was really an intention to found a permanent establishment on some part of the northwest coast of America, although no spot is designated as its site, and no hint is given of any acquisition of territory having been already made at or near Nootka Sound; indeed, the only reference to that place, in the whole paper, is contained in the words "we recommend you, if possible, to form a treaty with the various chiefs, particularly at Nootka." Yet Meares, in his memorial, strangely enough says: "Mr. Colnett was directed to fix his residence at Nootka Sound, and, with that view, to erect a substantial house on the spot which your memorialist had purchased in the preceding year, *as will appear by a copy of his instructions hereunto annexed.*"

While the Argonaut and Princess Royal were on their way to
Nootka, the Iphigenia and Northwest America returned to that April 20.

1789. place from the Sandwich Islands in a most distressed condition.
April 20. The Iphigenia was, indeed, a mere wreck. Her supercargo, or
captain, Douglas, declares in his journal, attached to the memorial,
that "she had like to have foundered at sea for want of pitch
and tar to stop the leaks; she had no bread on board, and nothing
for her crew to live on but salt pork; she was without cables,"
and, on attempting to secure her in the sound, "every rope gave
way, so that we were obliged to borrow a fall from the American
sloop Washington," which with the ship Columbia were found
lying there. The Washington had already made a cruise to the
southward, in the course of which she advanced some distance
April 25. up the Strait of Fuca; a few days after the arrival of the other
vessels, she took her departure for the north, and was immediately
April 28. followed by the Northwest America, which had been hastily
equipped and provided with articles for trade on a short voyage.
The Columbia remained at Nootka the whole summer, and we
are indebted to her mate, Joseph Ingraham, for the only account
of the occurrences at the sound, during that period, proceeding
from a disinterested witness.

May 6. On the 6th of May Martinez arrived at Nootka in the corvette Princesa, and immediately informed the officers of the Columbia and Iphigenia that he had come to take possession of the country for the King of Spain; he then examined the papers of the two vessels, and, appearing to be content with them, he landed artillery and materials, and began to erect a fort on a small island at the entrance of Friendly Cove. With this assumption of authority no dissatisfaction was expressed or entertained by either of the other parties present; on the contrary, the utmost good feeling seemed to subsist on all sides for several days. The officers of the different vessels visited and dined with each other; and Martinez readily supplied the Iphigenia, at the request of her commander, with articles of which she was in need, in order that she might go to sea immediately, accepting in return for them bills drawn upon Cavallo of Macao as her owner.

It is proper to remark here, that, on the arrival of the Spaniards at Nootka, no vestige remained of the house built, or said to have been built, by Meares, or of any other preparation for a settlement near the sound. This is expressly stated by Gray and Ingraham, who, moreover, declare their conviction that no house was ever erected by Meares at Nootka; and it is corroborated by the entire silence, on that head, of Douglas, Colnett, and every other person whose testimony is cited in conjunction with the memorial to Parliament.

May 13. Things remained thus at Nootka for a week, at the end of which
time the other Spanish vessel, the San Carlos, arrived, under the
May 14. command of Lieutenant Haro. On the following day, Martinez
invited Viana and Douglas, the chief officers of the Iphigenia, to
come on board the Princesa, where he immediately told them
that they were prisoners, and that their vessel was to be seized;
alleging in justification of his proceedings that their instructions
contained a clause directing them to seize and carry to Macao any
English, Russian, or Spanish vessels which they could overcome.

1789. May 14. Douglas insisted that the instructions had been misinterpreted, and that, although *he did not understand Portuguese*,[*] in which they were written, *he had seen a copy of them at Macao*, and knew their sense to be otherwise. Martinez, however, adhered to his resolution; the Iphigenia was in consequence boarded by the Spaniards; her men, with her charts, journals, and other papers, were transferred to the ships of war, and preparations were commenced for sending her to San Blas.

While these preparations were in progress, the Spanish commandant altered his intentions, and proposed to release the Iphigenia and her crew, on condition that her officers would sign a declaration to the effect that she had not been interrupted, but had been kindly treated and supplied by him during her stay at Nootka. This proposition was at first refused; negotiations, however, took place, through the medium of Captain Kendrick of the Columbia, the results of which were that the declaration was signed by the officers of the Iphigenia, and she and her crew were liberated on the 26th of May. May 26. Messrs. Viana and Douglas, at the same time, engaged for themselves, as "*captain and supercargo respectively, and for Juan Cavallo of Macao, as owner of the said vessel*," to pay her value, on demand, to the order of the Viceroy of Mexico, in case he should pronounce her capture legal. The vessel having been completely equipped for sea by the Spaniards, she sailed on the 2d of June June 2. for the northern coasts, where seven hundred sea-otter skins were collected, by trading with the natives, before her departure for the Sandwich Islands and China. "This trade was so brisk," says Meares in his Journal of the Voyage, that "*all the stock of iron was soon expended, and they were under the necessity of cutting up the chain-plates and hatch-bars of the vessel*," in order to find the means of purchasing the skins offered. In the memorial, however, not only is all notice of this part of the Iphigenia's voyage omitted, but it is implicitly declared[†] that she sailed directly from Nootka to the Sandwich Islands. Meares insists that the conduct of the Spaniards towards the Iphigenia and her men was violent and rapacious; on the other hand, Messrs. Gray and Ingraham declare that her detention was in every respect advantageous to the owners, as she was completely repaired and supplied for her voyage, and she would otherwise have been obliged to remain inactive at Nootka, for at least two months longer, during the best season for trading.

The seizure of the Iphigenia by Martinez can scarcely be considered as unjust or unmerited, when it is recollected that if, in

---

[*] Extracts from the Journal of Douglas, annexed to the memorial of Meares.

[†] "During the time the Spaniards held possession of the Iphigenia, she was stripped of all the merchandise which had been prepared for trading, as also of her stores, provisions, nautical instruments, charts, &c., and in short of every article, *except twelve bars of iron*, which they could conveniently carry away. * * * On leaving Nootka Sound, the Iphigenia, though in a very unfit condition for such a voyage, *proceeded from thence to the Sandwich Islands, and, after obtaining there such supplies as they were enabled to procure with the iron before mentioned*, returned to China, and anchored there in the month of October, 1789."—*Memorial addressed to Parliament by Meares.*

1789. June. attempting to enforce, with regard to her, the orders of his Government, (orders perfectly conformable with the principles of national law, as universally recognised, and with treaties between Spain and all other Powers,) he had been resisted and overcome, he, with his officers and men, would have been carried as prisoners to Macao, to be tried for piracy. Moreover, he had been informed that Meares was daily expected to arrive at Nootka, with other vessels belonging to the same concern; and it was his duty to provide against the possibility of being overpowered, and of having his flag insulted, by lessening the forces of those from whom he had every reason to apprehend an attack. Indeed, the only ground upon which he could have excused himself to his Government for releasing the Iphigenia must have been, that at the time when the instructions to her officers were written, it was not anticipated that Spain would take possession of any part of the northwest coast of America.

June 8. At the end of a week from the departure of the Iphigenia, the Northwest America returned to Nootka, and was immediately seized by Martinez. On what grounds or pretexts this seizure was based, there are no means of ascertaining. Gray and Ingraham understood that it was in consequence of an agreement between the Spanish commandant and the officers of the Iphigenia; this is, however, expressly denied by Douglas, who declares that both threats and promises had been used in vain to induce him to sell the small vessel at a price far below her value. A few days afterwards, the Princess Royal (one of the vessels sent from June 16. Macao by the associated companies) arrived in the sound, under the command of William Hudson, and was received and treated, during her stay, with respect and attention by the Spaniards. She brought information of the failure of Juan Cavallo, the Portuguese merchant, upon whom, as owner of the Iphigenia, the bills given by the commander of that vessel in payment of the supplies were drawn; and upon learning this, Martinez announced his determination to hold the Northwest America, which belonged to the same concern, in satisfaction for the amount of those bills. She was, in consequence, immediately equipped for a trading-voyage, and sent out under the direction of one of the mates of the Columbia; her officers and men being set at liberty, and receiving nearly all the furs found on board of her at the time of her capture.

July 2. The Princess Royal, after remaining some days at Nootka undisturbed by the Spaniards, sailed from that place on a cruise. As she was leaving the sound, her companion, the Argonaut, came in from Macao under the command of Captain Colnett, who had been, as before stated, charged by the associated companies with the direction of all their affairs on the American coasts, and with the establishment of a fort and factory for their benefit. What followed with regard to this vessel has been variously represented, or rather has been represented under various colors, for the principal facts are admitted by all to have been these:

July 4. As soon as the Argonaut appeared at the entrance of the sound, she was boarded by the Spanish commandant, who invited her captain to come into the port, and supply the ships of war with some necessary articles; presenting, at the same time, a letter from Hudson, in which the good treatment of the Princess Royal and her crew were acknowledged in flattering terms; Barnett, the mate of the Northwest America, Ingraham, the mate of the Columbia, and some other persons, likewise came on board, and communicated what had occurred with regard to the Iphigenia and the small vessel. Colnett, upon this, informed Martinez that he had come to take possession of Nootka, and to erect a fort there under the British flag. The Spaniard replied, that the place was already occupied by the forces of his Catholic Majesty; but that if the Argonaut should enter the sound, she should be treated with civility and attention, and be allowed to depart without hindrance. After some debate, the Englishman agreed to go into the harbor; and before midnight, his vessel was anchored in Friendly Cove between the Princesa and the San Carlos. 1789. July 2. July 3.

On the following day, Colnett, having supplied the Spanish ships with some articles, announced his intention to go to sea in the evening; whereupon, Martinez requested him first to come on board the Princesa and exhibit his papers. The captain accordingly went, in uniform and with his sword, to the cabin of the commandant, where an altercation took place between the parties; the results of which were, the arrest of Colnett, and the seizure of the Argonaut by the Spaniards. From the moment of his arrest, Colnett was delirious or insane, and Robert Duffin, the mate of the Argonaut, became in consequence the representative of the owners of that vessel. July 4.

On the 13th of July the Princess Royal appeared at the mouth of the sound, and her captain, Hudson, having entered Friendly Cove in a boat, was there arrested with his men; after which, the vessel was boarded and brought in as a prize by the Spaniards. On the following day the Argonaut sailed for San Blas, carrying nearly all the British subjects taken at Nootka as prisoners, under the charge of a Spanish lieutenant and crew. Those who were captured in the Northwest America were, however, embarked as passengers in the Columbia for Macao; one hundred of the otter skins found in the Princess Royal being allowed by Martinez in payment of their wages and transportation.

The Columbia left Nootka in August; soon afterwards she met the Washington, which had just returned from her voyage up the Strait of Fuca; and it was agreed between the captains, that Gray should take command of the ship, and proceed to China and the United States, with all the furs which had been collected, while Kendrick should remain on the coast in the Washington. Finally, in November, Martinez quitted Nootka Sound, and sailed with all his vessels for Mexico, leaving Maquinna again in quiet possession of his dominions.

If the statements of Meares, in his memorial, and of Colnett, in the account published by him respecting the capture of the Argonaut and Princess Royal, and the treatment of their officers and men by the Spaniards, be admitted as conveying a full and correct view of the circumstances, the conduct of Martinez must be

1789. considered as nearly equivalent to piracy. From these statements it would appear that the vessels were treacherously seized, without any reasonable grounds, or even pretexts, and with the sole premeditated object of plundering them; and that the most cruel acts of violence, insult, and restraint, were wantonly committed upon the officers and men, during the whole period of July 4. their imprisonment. Colnett relates* that when he presented his papers to Martinez in the cabin of the Princesa, the commandant, without examining them, pronounced them to be forged, and immediately declared that the Argonaut should not go to sea; that, upon his "*remonstrating* (in what terms he does not say) *against this breach of good faith and forgetfulness of word and honor pledged*," the Spaniard rose in apparent anger, and introduced a party of armed men, by whom he was struck down, placed in the stocks, and then closely confined; that he was afterwards carried from ship to ship like a criminal, threatened with instant execution as a pirate, and subjected to so many injuries and indignities, as to throw him into a violent fever and delirium, which were near proving fatal; and that his officers and men were imprisoned and kept in irons, from the time of their seizure until their arrival at San Blas, where many of them died in consequence of ill treatment. Meares, in his memorial, confirms the assertions of Colnett; and he adds, with regard to the capture of the Princess Royal, that her commander, Hudson, after his arrest at Friendly Cove, was forced (by means of threats of immediate execution) to send written orders to his mate, to deliver up the vessel without resistance to the Spaniards.

Many of these statements are supported by the deposition of the officers and seamen of the Northwest America, taken in China, which is appended to the memorial; some of them, however, are directly contradicted, while the greater part are invalidated, not only by the declarations of Gray and Ingraham, but even by the admissions of Duffin, the mate of the Argonaut, in his letters, also attached to the same petition. Thus the American captains understood, "from those whose veracity they had no reason to doubt," that Colnett, at his interview with Martinez in the cabin of the Princesa, denied the right of the Spaniards to occupy Nootka, and endeavored to impose upon the commandant by representing himself as empowered by his Government to erect a fort and settle a colony at that place under the British flag, and that he afterwards insulted the Spaniard by threatening him and drawing his sword. Colnett himself says that he attempted to draw his sword on the occasion, but that it was in order to defend himself against those who assailed him; and it must be allowed to be very difficult to "*remonstrate*" with a man upon "*his breach of faith, and forgetfulness of his word and honor pledged*," without insulting him. Duffin, writing to Meares from Nootka, ten July 14. days after the seizure, gives nearly the same account of the interview, adding that the misunderstanding was most probably occasioned by the interpreter's ignorance of the English language. 1789. He says that Martinez appeared to be very sorry for what had happened, and had "behaved with great civility, by obliging his prisoners with every liberty that could be expected;" and he complains of no violence, either to the feelings or to the persons of any of the crews of the vessels seized, although he charges the Spaniards with plundering both openly and secretly. Moreover, Duffin declares, and Meares repeats in his memorial, that the disease with which Colnett was afflicted after his arrest was a fit of insanity occasioned by fear and disappointment operating upon a mind naturally weak and hereditarily predisposed to such alienation. This assertion is indignantly repelled by Colnett, in his account of the affair, to which he annexes a letter of apology and retraction from Meares.

---

* See Colnett's Account of a Voyage in the Pacific in 1793; note at page 96.

No other evidence has been presented on the part of Spain, respecting these proceedings, than what is contained in the notes and memorials addressed by the Court of Madrid on the subject to various European Governments in 1790, and in the Introduction to the Narrative of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana; all of which statements, though made officially, are, without doubt, erroneous on many of the most material points.

Upon reviewing all the circumstances as they are presented to us, there is little doubt that Colnett acted towards the Spanish commandant in a manner so extravagant and intemperate as to render his arrest perfectly justifiable; the detention of his vessel, however, cannot be defended on the same grounds, and the seizure of the Princess Royal appears to have been totally unauthorized and inexcusable. The commanders of Spanish American posts were, indeed, ordered by their general instructions to seize all foreign vessels entering or cruising in the vicinity of the territories under their control; and the enforcement of these orders was directly or tacitly admitted by all the nations with which Spain had made treaties relating to those dominions. But it could not have been reasonably intended by the Spanish Government, or allowed by other Powers, that such regulations should be enforced at a new settlement, in a region so remote, before the people of any other country could be informed of the fact of the establishment. We know, moreover, from the highest authority, that Martinez was specially instructed to treat all British or Russian vessels which might arrive at Nootka with civility; and, although he might have with propriety disarmed Colnett's ships, if he apprehended any attack from them, he certainly had no right to take possession of them, and to appropriate their cargoes, as he did, to his own uses, merely because their commander had refused to recognise the supremacy of Spain in that region.

Meares, Vancouver, and other British writers, in alluding to these occurrences, endeavor to cast blame on the commanders of the two American vessels, which were at the time in or near Nootka Sound, by representing them as aiding and supporting the Spaniards in their oppressive proceedings. Upon examining the facts, we find that the Americans never pretended to ques-

1789. tion the right of Spain to the country; and the conduct of the British towards them was not such, if we may judge from the expressions of Meares, as to excite any friendly feelings on their part. All that can be alleged against Captains Kendrick and Gray seems to be that they profited, as they were entitled to do, by the quarrels between the other two parties, naturally inclining towards that which seemed to be the more friendly disposed towards themselves.

Upon the arrival of the Argonaut at San Blas, Colnett was liberated from confinement, and he proceeded to the city of Mexico, where he was received with kindness by the Viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo. The cases of the Argonaut and Princess Royal having been then examined, it was decided*—that the conduct of Martinez had been entirely conformable with the laws and ordinances of Spain, and with the terms of treaties existing between that kingdom and other nations, by which it is understood that aliens frequenting, trading, or endeavoring to establish themselves "on the coasts of the South Sea in either America" shall be regarded and treated as enemies, without any presumable breach of faith on the part of Spain; that consequently the said two vessels might be retained as lawful prizes; but that, in consideration of the apparent ignorance of their owners and officers respecting the rights and laws of Spain, as well as for the sake of preserving peace and harmony with Great Britain, they should be released, on condition of their not entering any bay or port in Spanish America without pressing necessity.

1790. In virtue of this decision, Colnett returned to San Blas, where he found that several of his men had died, during his absence, of the fever endemic on those coasts. With the remainder he sailed in the Argonaut to Nootka, for the purpose of reclaiming the Princess Royal; but the sound had been, long before he arrived there, evacuated by Martinez and his forces, who from some cause, however, did not reach Mexico until after the departure of Colnett. From Nootka the Argonaut, having taken in a cargo of furs, sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where the Princess Royal was found lying; Colnett there received possession of her, and arrived with both vessels at Macao in the latter part of 1790.

The Columbia, under the command of Gray, reached Macao in December, 1789, bringing as passengers the officers and crew of the Northwest America, who first communicated the news of the seizure of the Argonaut and Princess Royal to their owners. The latter immediately resolved to apply to the British Government for redress; and Meares accordingly departed for London, where he arrived in March, 1790, carrying with him various depositions and other papers in substantiation of the claims.

Meanwhile the Court of Spain, having been informed of what had occurred at Nootka in the summer of 1789, addressed a note Feb. 10. to the British ministry, stating the circumstances, and requiring that the parties who had planned the expeditions should be punished, in order to deter others from making settlements on territories occupied and frequented by the Spaniards for a number of years. The British ministers answered, that they had not received exact information as to the facts stated by the Spanish Government, but that *the acts of violence* towards British subjects and property, mentioned in the communication from the latter, necessarily suspended any discussion of claims which *either party* might advance to the possession of the northwest coasts of America, until adequate atonement should have been made for those outrages against the flag of Great Britain; the answer was concluded by a demand for the immediate restoration of the vessels seized at Nootka. Simultaneously with the despatch of this answer, orders were issued at London for the armament of two large fleets; and the Spanish Government, taking alarm at this measure, caused similar preparations to be commenced in all the naval arsenals of the kingdom. 1790. Feb. 26.

---

* Vancouver's Account of his Voyages, vol. iii, page 497; Memorial of the Court of Spain, Annual Register for 1790.

Several weeks after the receipt of this answer, the Court of Madrid informed the British ministry that one of the vessels seized at Nootka (the Argonaut) had been released, and orders had been given by the Viceroy of Mexico for the restitution of the other, in consideration of the ignorance of their owners and captains with regard to the rights and laws of Spain; that the affair might, therefore, be regarded as at an end, and that his Catholic Majesty would be satisfied if the King of England would restrain his subjects from trespassing upon the Pacific coasts of America, to which the Crown of Spain had indubitable right, founded upon treaties and immemorial possession. Ere the correspondence proceeded farther, the matter had been submitted by the British ministry to the nation; and a fever had, in consequence, been excited throughout the kingdom, which was not to be easily allayed. This measure was the result of the presentation by Meares of his Memorial, praying that reparation should be obtained for himself and his associates for their losses, actual and probable, occasioned by the seizure and detention of their vessels at Nootka; the amount of which was estimated at no less a sum than *six hundred and fifty-three thousand dollars.* April.

The correspondence above noticed was kept profoundly secret by both parties until the 5th of May, when the circumstances were communicated by the King of England, through a message addressed to Parliament. In this message, it is stated that "two vessels belonging to his Majesty's subjects, and navigated under the British flag," (meaning the Argonaut and Princess Royal,) "and two others," (the Iphigenia and Northwest America,) "of which the description is not hitherto sufficiently ascertained, have been captured at Nootka Sound by an officer commanding two Spanish ships of war; that the cargoes of the British vessels have been seized, and their officers and crews have been sent as prisoners to a Spanish port." That, in reply to a demand for satisfaction, addressed to the Court of Madrid, it had been declared that one of the British vessels was liberated by the Viceroy of Mexico, "on the supposition that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain encouraged the individuals of other nations to May 5.

1790. May 5. come on those coasts, for the purpose of making establishments or carrying on trade;" but that "no satisfaction was given or offered, and a direct claim was asserted by the Court of Madrid to the exclusive right of sovereignty, navigation, and commerce, in the territories, coasts, and seas of that part of the world." In consequence of all which, "his Majesty had directed his minister at Madrid to make a fresh representation on the subject, and to claim such full and adequate satisfaction as the nature of the case evidently required. And under these circumstances, his Majesty, having also received information that considerable armaments were carrying on in the ports of Spain, had judged it necessary to give orders for such preparations as might put it in his power to act with vigor and effect in support of the honor of his Crown and the interests of his people; and he recommended that Parliament would therefore enable him to take such measures, and to make such augmentations of his forces, as might be eventually requisite for that purpose."

In this message, it will be remarked that no mention is made of the seizure of any *lands or buildings* belonging to British subjects at Nootka; and it will be found, on examining the documents attached to the memorial of Meares, that no notice of such possessions is contained in any of them, except in "*the information of William Graham*," one of the seamen of the Felice, taken at London, on the very day in which the message was read in Parliament, five days after the date of the memorial. It may also be observed, in anticipation, that the reports of the debates in Parliament, and the published correspondence between the two Governments, prior to the signature of the treaty by which the dispute was terminated, are equally free from allusions to any claims of British subjects to *territories or houses* on the northwest coast of America.

The recommendations in the King's message were received with every demonstration of concurrence in Parliament, and throughout the British dominions; and the supplies required May 5. were immediately voted. On the day in which the message was read, a note was addressed by the ministry to the Spanish Court, insisting upon immediate satisfaction for the outrages complained of; and declaring that, until it were received, the question of the rights of Spain would not be discussed. The British representative May 16. at Madrid also presented formal demands to the Government for restitution of the other vessel (the Princess Royal) seized at Nootka—for complete indemnification of all losses sustained by British subjects trading under the British flag, from the acts of Spanish officers on the northwest coast of America—and for "a distinct acknowledgment that British subjects have an indisputable right to the enjoyment of free and uninterrupted commerce, navigation, and fishery, and to the possession of such establishments as they might form, with the consent of the natives, on any part of the American coasts not previously occupied by some European nation."

June. To these demands, the Spanish minister, Count de Florida Blanca, gave an evasive reply on the 13th of June; after having addressed a circular, protesting against them, to all the other 1790. Courts of continental Europe. He likewise solicited the French monarch to comply with the terms of the Family Compact of 1761, by which the Sovereigns of France and Spain were bound to support each other, in cases similar to that actually existing. These measures, however, producing no favorable results, he was obliged to yield to the demand of Great Britain for indemnification to her subjects; which was promised* on the 24th of July, June 24. with the understanding that the concession was not to affect, in any way, the question as to the right of his Catholic Majesty to form an exclusive establishment at Nootka.

The negotiation had thus far proceeded in a course almost precisely like that of the dispute between the same parties respecting the Falkland Islands, twenty years previous; and the Spanish minister probably expected that it would end there. But Mr. Pitt, who then directed the affairs of Great Britain, had ulterior objects in view, which induced him to persist in his exactions relative to the unoccupied coasts of America; and as naval armaments on the most extensive scale were in progress of equipment in both countries, a rupture of the peace between them was daily anticipated.

In the mean time, the National Assembly of France was de- Aug. liberating upon the solicitation for aid addressed by Charles IV. of Spain to his cousin, Louis XVI., which had been referred by the latter to that body, then all-powerful in his kingdom. The resolutions,† finally adopted in the Assembly, as proposed by the Aug. 26. celebrated Mirabeau, were very vague with regard to Spain, while they were very clear and positive as to the necessity of immediately arming a vast naval force for the security of the French dominions. That these resolutions must have materially affected the nature of the negotiation between the Courts of London and Madrid there can be no doubt, although no means have been as yet afforded of learning in what manner and to what precise extent. It, however, appears probable that the warlike attitude assumed by the National Assembly, together with the rapid advance of revolutionary anti-monarchical principles at the same period, rendered the disputing parties willing to compromise their differences, in order that they might, if there should be need, act in unison against their dangerous neighbor. Possibly, indeed, the exactions of the British minister were, from the commencement, intended for no other purpose than to secure such co-operation. Certain it is, that the conditions subscribed by the two Powers, at the conclusion of their dispute, were far less onerous Oct. 28. or humiliating to Spain, than those upon which the Court of London had at first announced its determination to insist.

---

* See *declaration*, by Count de Florida Blanca, and *counter-declaration*, by Mr. Fitzherbert, the British envoy at Madrid, in the Annual Register for 1790, page 300. It may be here mentioned, that the amount payable by Spain as indemnification was finally settled in February, 1793, by agreement between the commissioners of the two Governments, at two hundred and ten thousand dollars. See Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iv, page 209.

† See Annual Register for 1790, page 303. The resolutions in the original, and the interesting debates in the Assembly, may be found in the Moniteur.

1790. The conditions above mentioned are contained in a treaty, signed at the Palace of San Lorenzo, or the Escurial, in Spain, on the 28th of October, 1790, and ratified on the 22d of the following month; of which it will be proper here to insert all the articles without variation from the original text.*

"Article 1. The buildings and tracts of land situated on the northwest coast of the continent of North America, or on the islands adjacent to that continent, of which the subjects of his Britannic Majesty were dispossessed about the month of April, 1789, by a Spanish officer, shall be restored to the said British subjects.

"Art. 2. A just reparation shall be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility which may have been committed subsequent to the month of April, 1789, by the subjects of either of the contracting parties against the subjects of the other; and, in case any of the said respective subjects shall, since the same period, have been forcibly dispossessed of their lands, buildings, vessels, merchandise, and other property, whatever, on the said continent, or on the seas and islands adjacent, they shall be re-established in the possession thereof, or a just compensation shall be made to them for the losses which they have sustained.

"Art. 3. In order to strengthen the bonds of frrendship, and to preserve in future a perfect harmony and good understanding, between the two contracting parties, it is agreed that their respective subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating, or carrying on their fisheries, in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of those seas in places not already occupied, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements there; the whole subject, nevertheless, to the restrictions specified in the three following articles.

"Art. 4. His Britannic Majesty engages to take the most effectual measures to prevent the navigation and the fishery of his subjects in the Pacific Ocean or in the South Seas from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and, with this view, it is moreover expressly stipulated that British subjects shall not navigate, or carry on their fishery, in the said seas, within the space of ten sea-leagues from any part of the coasts already occupied by Spain.

"Art. 5. As well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, by virtue of the first article, as in all other parts of the northwestern coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situate to the north of the parts of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two Powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without any disturbance or molestation.

---

* See Annual Register for 1790, page 304; Parliamentary History for same year, page 916; Hertslet's Collection of British Treaties, vol. ii, page 257.

1790.

"Art. 6. With respect to the eastern and western coasts of South America, and to the islands adjacent, no settlement shall be formed hereafter, by the respective subjects, in such part of those coasts as are situated to the south of those parts of the same coasts, and of the islands adjacent, which are already occupied by Spain: provided that the said respective subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary buildings, serving only for those purposes.

"Art. 7. In all cases of complaint or infraction of the articles of the present convention, the officers of either party, without permitting themselves previously to commit any violence or act of force, shall be bound to make an exact report of the affair, and of its circumstances, to their respective Courts, who will terminate such differences in an amicable manner.

"Art. 8. The present convention shall be ratified and confirmed in the space of six weeks, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner if it can be done."

Dec. 3.

This treaty was submitted to Parliament by Mr. Pitt on the 3d of December, and became the subject of discussion in both Houses. By the friends of the ministry it was extolled and defended in general terms, as vindicating the honor of the nation, as securing reparation for injuries committed against British subjects, and as affording important advantages to them in future, by opening the navigation of the Pacific and South Seas, and establishing the question of the southern fisheries on such grounds as must prevent all dispute. The opposition, on the other hand, contended that the advantages derivable from it were in no respect commensurate with the costs at which it had been obtained; nay, it was insisted by Fox, Grey, Lansdowne, and other eminent whigs, that the rights of British subjects had been materially abridged by the new stipulations. They observed that, whereas the British formerly possessed the right, "*whether admitted or contested by Spain was of no consequence*," to navigate and fish in any part of the Pacific or South Seas, and "*to settle wherever the subjects of no other civilized nation had previously settled*," they were by this treaty prohibited from going nearer than thirty miles to a Spanish territory, and from establishing themselves on a large portion of South America, as well as from forming any permanent or useful settlement on the northwest coast of the northern continent. "In every place in which we might settle," said Grey, "access was left for the Spaniards. Where we might form a settlement on one hill, they might erect a fort upon another. A merchant must run all the risks of a discovery, and all the expenses of establishment, for a property, which was liable to be the subject of continual dispute, and which could never be placed upon a permanent footing." Mr. Fox denied "that the southern whale fishery was of the great importance it was stated to be," and declared that it was mere "dross" in comparison with what had been renounced in order to obtain it. "To remove all possibility," said that gentleman, "of our ever forming a settlement to the south of her American colonies, was an

1790. object for which Spain would have been willing to pay a liberal price." Of the truth of this assertion, there was sufficient proof in the efforts made by the Government of Spain to prevent other nations from planting colonies in the Falkland Islands; from which islands, it may be remarked, both parties to the convention appear to have been excluded by the terms of the sixth article.

It was also noticed by Mr. Fox, as a curious and inexplicable incongruity in the treaty, that "*about the month of April*, 1789," should have been inserted as the date of what was known to have taken place, agreeably to all the evidence produced, in *May* of the same year; and that although, by the first article, the lands and buildings declared to have been taken from British subjects by a Spanish officer "*about the month of April*, 1789," were to be restored, yet, by the second article, the lands, buildings, and other property, of which the subjects of either party had been dispossessed "*subsequent to the month of April*, 1789," were to be restored, *or* compensation was to be made to the owners for the losses which they might have sustained. Now, as the Spaniards did not arrive upon the northwest coast of America until May, 1789, it is clear that their Government might, at its own option, either restore the lands and buildings claimed by British subjects, *or* make compensation for the loss of them to their owners.

Upon this point it will be seen, that if the word *or* in the concluding part of the second article were replaced by *and*, the incongruity would disappear; but then, also, the first article would become entirely superfluous. It would, however, be idle to suppose that any *error* could have been committed, with regard to matters so essential, or that the want of accordance between the different provisions of the convention, noticed by Mr. Fox, should have been the result of accident or carelessness. The ministers, when pressed for explanations on this head, answered indirectly that the Spanish Government would make the restitutions as agreed in the first article; to the other objections raised against the convention, they gave only general or evasive replies. By means of their majorities in both Houses of Parliament, which were so great as to render any expenditure of argument unnecessary, they negatived every call for papers relative to the negotiation; and, having triumphantly carried their address of thanks to the Sovereign, they were left at liberty to execute the new stipulations agreeably to their own constructions, for which ample space had been certainly provided.*

---

* An analysis of the convention will be found in the ninth chapter of this memoir, among the observations on the Florida Treaty.

CHAPTER VII.

Execution of the first article of the treaty of 1790, between Great Britain and Spain—Surrender of Nootka to the British—Voyages and discoveries of the Spanish navigators, Fidalgo, Malaspina, Caamano, Galiano, and Valdes; of Billings, in the service of Russia; of Marchand; of Vancouver; and of the American fur-traders, Ingraham, Gray, and Kendrick—Discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, by Gray—Examination of the Strait of Fuca, and of the great Northwest Archipelago—Formation of the Northwest Fur-trading Company—Expeditions of Rodman and Mackenzie through the interior of the North American continent.

1791.

May 12.

The convention of 1790 having been thus concluded, the British Government prepared immediately to assume possession of the lands and buildings on the northwest coast of America, which were to be surrendered by Spain agreeably to the first article. For this purpose, it was determined that two frigates should be sent to Nootka, under the command of Captain Trowbridge; the ministry, however, afterwards committed the business to Captain George Vancouver, who had been one of Cook's lieutenants, and who was then about to sail to the Pacific with two ships, on a voyage of discovery. There were, doubtless, some difficulties between the parties to the convention respecting this surrender, for the order of the Spanish Minister of State to that effect was not delivered at Madrid until the 12th of May, 1791, more than a month after the departure of Vancouver, to whom it was despatched by a store-ship. The order was addressed to the Commandant of the port of San Lorenzo, of Nootka, directing him "to deliver to his Britannic Majesty's commissioner the buildings and tracts of land which were occupied by the subjects of that Sovereign in April, 1789, as well those in the port of Nootka, as also those in the other, called Port Cox, said to be situated about sixteen leagues further southward."* The same order was communicated, with the convention, to the Viceroy of Mexico, who was charged with its execution on the part of Spain; but it does not appear that any means were afforded to the commissioners, by either of the Governments, for ascertaining precisely what lands or buildings were to be surrendered.

Vancouver was instructed to proceed directly to Nootka, and, after having completed the business of the transfer there, to commence the examination of the American coasts included between the 35th and the 60th parallels of north latitude. The objects of these researches were especially to acquire accurate information with regard to the nature and extent of any water communication, which might tend to facilitate commercial intercourse between the northwest coasts and the territories on the opposite

---

* Introduction to the Journal of Vancouver's Voyage.

1791. side of the continent, inhabited or occupied by British subjects, and to ascertain with precision the number, extent, and situation of any settlements made by civilized nations within those limits. He was directed particularly "to explore the supposed Straits of Fuca, said to be situated between the 48th and 49th degrees of latitude, through which the American sloop Washington was reported to have passed in 1789, and to have come out again north of Nootka;" after which, he was, if there should be time sufficient, to survey the Sandwich Islands and the southernmost coasts of America. With these instructions, Vancouver sailed from England on the 1st of April, 1791, and just a year afterwards he arrived on the northwest coast, in sight of Cape Mendocino.

1790. Mar. 4. In the mean time, Nootka had been again occupied by Spanish forces, which were sent for that purpose from Mexico, in the spring of 1790, under the command of Don Francisco Elisa; and Spanish navigators were again exploring the northwest coasts of America, in order to observe the proceedings of the Russians, and also to determine the question as to the practicability of a northern voyage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. That question was then exciting considerable attention in Europe, where every thing relating to it was carefully studied, and the old stories of the discovery of northern passages were dragged forth from obscurity, and subjected to critical analyses, by scientific individuals and commissions. Three of these stories, of which Maldonado, Fuca, and Fonté, were severally the heroes, were pronounced, after such trials, to be not wholly destitute of probability; and the commanders of all the expeditions to the north Pacific were instructed to endeavor to ascertain how far each statement might be confirmed or disproved.

The Spaniards were, indeed, beginning seriously to direct their efforts to the security of their dominions northwest of Mexico; and with this view, a special branch of the administration in that kingdom had been created, under the title of the *Marine Department of San Blas*, which was charged with superintending and fostering the establishments on the coasts of the north Pacific. The port of San Blas in Mexico, situated near the entrance of the Californian Gulf, was made the centre of the operations for these purposes; arsenals, ship-yards, and warehouses were constructed at that place; all expeditions for the northern coasts were made from it; and all orders relative to the abovementioned objects passed through the chief of the department, who resided there.

Of the voyage of Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo to the northernmost coasts of the Pacific, in the summer of 1790, it is unnecessary here to present the details. The geographical information obtained by him was of little value, although he thought proper to affix Spanish names to a number of points between Mount St. Elias and Cook's Inlet, nearly all of which had been long before known and described.

1791. June 23 to Aug. 13. Those coasts were in the following year more minutely examined by Captain Alexandro Malaspina, in the course of his voyage around the world, with the Spanish corvettes *Atrevida* and *Descubierta* under his command. He, however, made no discoveries worthy of mention at present, and he effected nothing 1791 of greater importance than the determination of the positions of some places already known. Navarrete, in his Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, gives a long account of this expedition, and bestows the utmost praise on those who conducted it; yet, will it be believed that the name of Malaspina does not appear in that work? Such is, nevertheless, the fact. The unfortunate navigator, an Italian by birth, having fallen under the displeasure of the Spanish Government, or rather of Godoy, was arrested immediately after his return to Europe, in 1794, and was for seven years kept closely confined in a dungeon at Corunna. Navarrete, writing under the eye of that Government, and for its purposes, did not dare inscribe on his pages the name of the unhappy victim of its injustice.

While Malaspina was thus engaged on the coasts north of Nootka, Elisa, the commandant of that port, endeavored to explore the Strait of Fuca; he, however, penetrated only a few leagues within it, and was then forced to return by the appearance of scurvy among his crew. One of his lieutenants, Quimper, had previously attempted, with little better success, to trace this passage to its termination; from the slight account given of his voyage by Navarrete, it appears that he examined the whole southern shore, at the eastern extremity of which he discovered a harbor called by him *Port Quadra*, probably the same afterwards named *Port Discovery* by Vancouver.

The visit made to the northwest coast of America, in 1791, by August and Sept. Captain Etienne Marchand, in the French merchant ship *Solide*, is here mentioned, only because the Introduction, by Fleurieu, to the Journal of his Voyage, has been already several times quoted. Marchand landed on one of the islands of the group now called King George the Third's Archipelago, near Mount San Jacinto or Edgecumb, and remained there a fortnight engaged in trading with the natives; after which, he sailed along the coasts southward to the entrance of Clyoquot bay, a little east of Nootka, occasionally landing and making observations, and thence took his Sept. 7. departure for China. Respecting the places thus seen, or any other places, indeed, very little information is to be obtained from this journal, although hundreds of its pages are devoted to philosophical speculations on the origin and capabilities of the northwest Americans, their languages, and political and religious institutions, and on languages and institutions in general.

In the course of this year, also, no less than seven vessels from the United States arrived in the north Pacific, in search of furs. Among them were the ship *Columbia*, which returned from Boston under Captain Gray, and the brig Hope, commanded by Joseph Ingraham, the former mate of the Columbia.[*] The Journal of Captain Ingraham, to which reference has been so often made, contains minute accounts of occurrences and observations, which

---

[*] The others were, the *Washington*, Captain Kendrick, which had remained in the Pacific since 1788; the *Eleonora*, Captain Metcalf; the *Margaret*, Captain Magee; the *Hancock*, Captain Crowell; and the *Jefferson*, Captain Roberts.

1791. are recorded in a clear and simple manner; and it is illustrated by many charts and drawings, all serving to prove that the world is indebted to the efforts of the American fur-traders for much information relative to the northwest coasts, which is usually supposed to have been procured originally by the British and Spanish navigators. Of Captain Gray's second voyage to the Pacific, we know but little; that little, however, comes from authentic sources, and is worthy of being carefully preserved.

Ingraham sailed from Boston on the 16th of September, 1790; in January following he doubled Cape Horn, after stopping at Soledad or Port Egmont, in the Falkland Islands, where he found a Spanish garrison; and, in April, he discovered the group of six small islands, situated nearly in the centre of the Pacific, which are now called the *Washington Islands* by all geographers except May 20. the British. On the 20th of May the Hope reached Owyhee, and on the 29th of June she was anchored in a harbor on the southwest side of Queen Charlotte's Island, to which Ingraham gave the name of *Magee's Sound.* About this island, and the coasts of the continent immediately east of it, he remained during the whole summer; and having collected a large cargo of furs, he carried them to Canton in the autumn.

The Columbia quitted Boston on the 27th of September, 1790, May. and in May of the ensuing year she reached the northwest coast of America, a little northward of Cape Mendocino. Sailing along the coast towards Nootka, Captain Gray observed an opening, in the latitude of 46 degrees 16 minutes, from which issued a current so strong as to prevent his entrance, although he remained nine days in its vicinity endeavoring to effect that object. Being at length fully convinced that he had discovered the mouth of a great river, he continued his course towards the north, and on the 5th of June arrived in the harbor of Clyoquot, near Nootka.

From this place the Columbia soon sailed for Queen Charlotte's Island, near which she fell in with the Hope, on the 23d of July. On the 15th of August she entered an inlet under the parallel of 54½ degrees, up which she proceeded more than eighty miles towards the northeast; the passage was found to be wide and deep throughout this whole distance, and appeared to extend much farther in the same direction. Gray, however, was unable to pursue the examination of it, and returned with the persuasion that he had discovered the *Rio de los Reyes*, through which Admiral Fonté was said to have sailed on his way to the Atlantic, in 1640. The passage is that now called the *Portland Canal.* On Sept. leaving it, the Columbia returned to Clyoquot, at the entrance of which she met the French ship Solide, commanded by Captain Marchand, just as the latter was shaping her course for China. Here Gray and his crew passed the winter in a fortified habitation on the shore, to which he gave the name of Fort Defiance. Here, also, he built and launched a schooner, called the Enterprise, the first vessel constructed on the northwest side of the continent by citizens of the United States. While remaining at this place, "Wiccannish, the chief of that district, had concerted a plan to capture his ship, by bribing a native of Owyhee, whom

1791.

Gray had with him, to wet the priming of all the fire-arms on board, which were constantly kept loaded; upon which the chief would easily have overpowered the ship's crew by a number of daring Indians assembled for the purpose. This project was happily discovered; and the Americans being on their guard, the fatal effects of the plan were prevented."*

August.

Captain John Kendrick, who commanded the Columbia in her first voyage to the Pacific, had remained in that ocean with the sloop Washington since 1789. In August of 1791, while lying in Nootka Sound, he had reason to suspect that the Spaniards would seize his vessel, in case he should endeavor to proceed to sea; and under this impression, he determined to make his way, if possible, through a passage which he believed to exist, from the extremity of the harbor northwestward into the Pacific. His effort proved successful; and he bestowed upon the channel thus found the name of *Massachusetts Sound.* This passage, called by the natives *Ahasset*, is not laid down upon Vancouver's maps; an account of it, however, appears in the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, where it is called the *Passage of Buena Esperanza*, and its discovery is attributed to the officers of Malaspina's ships, who surveyed it in the latter part of the same month, after Kendrick had passed through it.

About the same time, Kendrick purchased from Maquinna, Wiccannish, and other chiefs, several large tracts of land† near Nootka Sound, for which he afterwards exhibited deeds signed, or rather *marked*, by the savages, and witnessed by many of the officers and crew of the Washington. These deeds were authenticated by a notary at Macao; and attempts were made at London, in 1795, to sell the lands supposed to have been thus legally acquired. So lately, indeed, as 1838, a memorial was presented to the Congress of the United States by the representatives of the owners and captain of the Washington, praying that their title to these territories might be confirmed or purchased by the Govern-

---

* Vancouver's Journal, vol. i, page 215.

† The purchase of these lands is mentioned by Wadstrom, in his work on Colonization, published at London in 1795; and by Macpherson, in his Annals of Commerce. The circular issued by Messrs. Barrell & Co., in 1795, (of which one of the originals is now before the writer,) is a curious document; it is in four languages, and is couched in terms the most unspecific which could have been chosen. *The inhabitants of Europe* are informed that, "in 1787, Captain J. Kendrick, while prosecuting an advantageous voyage with the natives for furs, purchased of them, for the owners, a tract of delightful country comprehending four degrees or latitude, or 240 miles square;" and "that such as may be inclined to associate for settling a commonwealth, on their own code of laws, on a spot of the globe nowhere surpassed in delightful and healthy climate and fertile soil, claimed by no civilized nation, and purchased under a sacred treaty of peace and commerce, and for a valuable consideration, of the friendly natives, may have the best opportunity of trying the result of such an enterprise." Where these four degrees of latitude, or 240 miles square, are situated, is no otherwise stated than that they are in America. The deeds for the lands are declared in the circular to have been registered in the office of the American consul in China. These deeds, or some of them, which have been recently published, relate only to the territories about Nootka and Clyoquot; and although they embrace the whole of the dominions of Maquinna and Wiccannish, they do not amount to one twenty-fourth part of 240 miles square. Moreover, the whole island in which those territories are situated extends through only two and a half degrees of latitude; so that other lands must have been purchased by Kendrick.

1791. ment; and the same claim is now being urged before Congress. That the transactions here described between Kendrick and the savage chiefs did really take place, there is no reason to doubt; it is, however, scarcely probable that the validity of the purchases will ever be recognised by the civilized nation which may hereafter possess the country adjacent to Nootka Sound.

After purchasing these lands, Kendrick sailed to the Sandwich Islands, and there engaged in a new branch of commerce, of which he was the originator. It was the collection and transportation to China of the odoriferous wood called *sandal*, which grows in all the islands of the centre of the Pacific, and is in great demand throughout the Celestial Empire. Vancouver considered the scheme chimerical; the result, however, has proved that it was founded on just calculations, as the trade thus opened has ever since been prosecuted, and at the present day affords employment to many vessels. Kendrick did not live long to profit by it; he was killed at Owyhee, in 1793, by the natives.

1790. The Russians likewise endeavored, at this time, to carry into effect their long contemplated voyage of discovery through the north Pacific. After four years of preparations, one of the ships, built for the purpose at Petro-Paulowsk, sailed from that place in May, 1790, under Captain Joseph Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied Cook in his last voyage, and had been engaged by the Empress to direct this expedition. Billings advanced no farther than the vicinity of Mount Saint Elias, which he reached in the latter part of July; there his provisions began to fail, and he was in consequence obliged to return to Kamschatka. In the
1791. following year, two vessels were sent from Petro-Paulowsk, with the same objects, under Captains Hall and Saretschef; neither of which proceeded beyond Unalashka. A melancholy picture of the sufferings experienced in these vessels has been presented by Martin Sauer, a German, who acted as secretary to the expedition, in his narrative published ten years afterwards. Another account of these voyages has been given by Saretscheff, who imputes the failure of the undertaking to the incapacity of Billings.

1792. In 1792, many discoveries were made on the northwest coasts of America by the British, the Spaniards, and the citizens of the United States.

May 13. In the spring of that year Captain Jacinto Caamano, commanding the corvette *Aranzazu*, and Lieutenants Dionisio Alcala Galiano and Cayetano Valdes, with the small sloops *Sutil* and *Mexicana*, arrived at Nootka from Mexico, with orders to examine certain parts of the coast which had not been visited by Malaspina. Galiano and Valdes soon after departed together for the Strait of Fuca, of which their survey will be hereafter described; while Caamano proceeded to examine the numerous openings in the land, which had been observed immediately north and northeast of Queen Charlotte's Island.

May 23 to Sept. 7. In the discharge of this duty, Caamano displayed great skill and activity, as appears from the account of his voyage* given by

---

* Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana, page 123.

Navarrete, and as indirectly testified by Vancouver. Without presenting the details of his researches, suffice it to say that he explored many of the bays and intricate channels which lie between the 52d and the 56th parallels of latitude, and minutely surveyed the northern side of Queen Charlotte's Island. Some of these channels were traced by him to their terminations in the land; others being ascertained to be straits, separating islands from each other and from the continent. From his observations, added to those of the fur-traders and of the natives, little doubt was left of the existence of many other islands in that part of the Pacific, occupying the position assigned to the *Archipelago of San Lazaro*, in the story of Admiral Fonté's voyage. 1792

It should be observed, however, with regard to the accounts of Caamano's expedition, that several of the places visited and named by him had been surveyed in the preceding year, by the fur-traders of the United States, who had also bestowed appellations upon them. Thus the ports of *Estrada* and *Mazaredo*, on the northern shore of Queen Charlotte's Island, were already familiarly known to the Americans frequenting those coasts as *Hancock's river* and *Craft's Sound*. Ingraham has inserted charts and descriptions of both harbors in his journal, where he pronounces Hancock's river to be better adapted for a settlement than any other place on the northwest side of America.

An attempt was likewise, about this time, made by the Spaniards to form a settlement on the southern side of the Strait of Fuca, near its mouth, at a place to which they gave the name of *Port Nuñez Gaona;* but they were soon obliged to abandon it, in consequence of the insecurity of the anchorage and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. This place and Nootka Sound were the only spots north of Port San Francisco on which any establishment was formed or attempted by the Spaniards; and, as each settlement was founded after the month of April, 1789, Port San Francisco, in the latitude of 37 degrees 49 minutes, became, by virtue of the fifth article of the convention of 1790, the northern limit of the section of the American coast exclusively belonging to Spain.

In the middle of April Captain Vancouver arrived on the coast, near Cape Mendocino, with his two ships, the *Discovery*, commanded by himself, and the *Chatham*, by Lieutenant William Broughton. Proceeding northward along the shore of the continent, he carefully observed the part near the 43d degree of latitude, where Martin de Aguilar was said to have found a large river in 1603, and that near the 46th, where an opening was laid down on the Spanish charts, bearing the names of *Rio de San Roque* and *Entrada de Heceta*. Under the parallel of 42 degrees and 52 minutes he passed a promontory, which he ungenerously called *Cape Orford*, although it corresponds precisely in situation with the *Cape Blanco* of Aguilar; the river* which that navi- April 18.

---

* The Umqua and the Klamet, which enter the ocean near the position assigned by Torquemada to the mouth of Aguilar's river, are both inconsiderable streams.

1792. gator was supposed to have seen could not be found by the English, and there is now little doubt that the account of its discovery, given by Torquemada, is erroneous.

Vancouver was equally convinced that no great stream entered the Pacific in the position assigned to the mouth of the San Roque; in describing his search for it he says, (vol. i, page 209:)
April 27. "On the 27th of April, noon brought us up with a very conspicuous point of land, composed of a cluster of hummocks, moderately high and projecting into the sea. On the south side of this promontory was the appearance of an inlet or small river, the land not indicating it to be of any great extent; nor did it seem accessible for vessels of our burthen, as the breakers extended from the above point two or three miles into the ocean, until they joined those on the beach nearly four leagues farther south. On reference to Mr. Meares's description[*] of the coast south of this promontory, I was at first induced to believe it was *Cape Shoalwater;* but, on ascertaining its latitude, I presumed it to be that which he calls *Cape Disappointment*, and the opening south of it *Deception Bay*. This cape was found to be in latitude 46 degrees 19 minutes, longitude 236 degrees 6 minutes. The sea had now changed from its natural to river-colored water, the probable consequence of some streams falling into the bay, or into the ocean north of it, through the low land. *Not considering this opening worthy of more attention*, I continued our pursuit to the northwest, being desirous to embrace the advantages of the now prevailing breeze and pleasant weather, so favorable to an examination of the coasts."

April 29. He accordingly sailed onwards, and, on the afternoon of the next day but one, he met at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca the American ship Columbia, which had just quitted her wintering place at Clyoquot; her captain, Gray, informed the English "of his having[†] entered an inlet to the northward, in latitude of 54½ degrees, in which he had sailed to the latitude of 56 without discovering its termination;" and, also, of "his having been off the mouth of a river, in the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes, where the outset, or reflux, was so strong as to prevent his entering for nine days. This was probably," continues Vancouver, "the opening passed by us on the forenoon of the 27th, and was apparently inaccessible, *not from the current*, but from the break-
April 30. ers that extend across it." On the following day, after parting with the Columbia, he writes in his journal: "We have now explored a part of the American continent, extending nearly two hundred and fifteen leagues, *under the most fortunate and favorable circumstances of wind and weather.* So minutely has this extensive coast been inspected, that *the surf has been constantly seen to break on its shores*, from the mast-head; and it was but in a few small intervals only where our distance precluded its being visible from the deck. It must be considered as a very singular

---

[*] See Meares's Journal, page 167; and page 93 of this memoir.

[†] Vancouver's Journal, vol. i, page 215.

1792. May.

circumstance, that, in so great an extent of sea-coast, we should not until now *have seen the appearance of any opening in its shores*, which presented any certain prospect of affording shelter; *the whole coast forming one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea.* The river mentioned by Mr. Gray should, from the latitude he assigned to it, have existence in the bay south of Cape Disappointment. This we passed in the forenoon of the 27th; and, as I then observed, if any inlet or river should be found, it must be a very intricate one, and *inaccessible to vessels of our burthen, owing to the reefs and broken water*, which then appeared in its neighborhood. Mr. Gray stated that he had been several days attempting to enter it, which at length he was unable to effect, in consequence of a very strong outset. This is a phenomenon difficult to account for, as in most cases, where there are outsets of such strength on a sea-coast, there are corresponding tides setting in. Be that, however, as it may, *I was thoroughly convinced, as were also most persons of observation on board, that we could not possibly have passed any safe navigable opening, harbor, or place of security for shipping, on this coast, from Cape Mendocino to the promontory of Classet*, [Cape Flattery, at the entrance of the Strait of Fuca;] nor had we any reason to alter our opinions, notwithstanding that theoretical geographers have thought proper to assert in that space the existence of arms of the ocean communicating with a mediterranean sea, and extensive rivers with safe and convenient ports."

From the above extracts, it is evident that Captain Vancouver placed no reliance on the correctness of Gray's account of the discovery of a great river immediately south of Cape Disappointment; being satisfied, from his own observations, that no such stream emptied into the ocean, and that no harbor or place of security for shipping would be found between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca. The British commander was, moreover, as his work abundantly shows, always disinclined to regard with credit or favor any thing which might be calculated to advance the reputation or interests of the people of the United States. Under these impressions, he commenced his survey of the Strait of Fuca; while Gray, confident that he had not been mistaken, was on his way to the mouth of the great river, which he resolved, if possible, to enter with his ship.

While proceeding* southward along the coast, after parting

---

* *Extract from the log-book of the ship Columbia, Captain Robert Gray, taken from the original by Charles Bulfinch, one of the owners of the Columbia.*

May 7, 1792, A. M.—Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather-current. At 1 P. M. the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half-past 3, bore away, and run in northeast-by-east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At 5 P. M. came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom, in a safe harbor, well shel-

1792. May 7. with Vancouver, the captain of the Columbia found and entered, on the 7th of May, a harbor near the 47th degree, which he pronounces to be "safe, and well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits." Here he remained four days, and, on leaving the place, he bestowed on it the name of *Bulfinch's Harbor*, in compliment to one of the owners of the ship. It is generally distinguished on maps by the appellation of *Gray's Harbor*; Arrowsmith and other British geographers, with their usual injustice towards citizens of the United States, call it *Whidbey's Harbor*, because it was afterwards, as will be shown, surveyed by Lieutenant Whidbey, the commander of one of Vancouver's vessels.

May 11. From Bulfinch's Harbor the Columbia departed on the 11th, and, after a few hours sail, she arrived opposite the Deception Bay of Meares, immediately south of his Cape Disappointment.

---

tered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude, observed this day, was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10.—Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon, all the canoes left us. At 1 P. M. began to unmoor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half-past 4, (being high water,) hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.

May 11.—At half-past 7 we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At 8 P. M. the entrance of Bulfinch's harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-southeast half east, and the northern north-northwest; sent up the main top-gallant yard and set all sail. At 4 A. M. saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-southeast, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At 8 A. M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the harbor, bore away, and run in east-northeast between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered Many canoes came alongside. At 1 P. M. came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west-southwest, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles distance; a village on the north side of the river west-by-north, distant three-quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water-casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12.—Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main top-gallant yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales and rainy dirty weather.

May 13.—Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives alongside; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

May 14.—Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon weighed and came to sail, standing up the river northeast by-east; we found the channel very narrow. At 4 P. M. we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half-past 4 the ship took ground, but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable any further up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends, with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

Tuesday, May 15.—Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At 10 A. M. unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16.—Light airs and cloudy. At 4 A. M. hove up the anchor, and towed down about three miles with the last of the ebb tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At 10 A. M. a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way and beat down river. At 1, (from its be-

The breakers extending across this bay presented, as they always 1792.
do, a formidable appearance; Gray, however, dashed undauntedly
forward, and soon found himself on a broad and rapid river,
the water of which was so perfectly fresh that the casks of the
ship were filled within ten miles of the Pacific. On the 14th he May 14.
ascended the stream by a channel near its northern bank, to the
distance of about twenty miles from its mouth, beyond which
the Columbia could not advance on account of the shallowness
of the water. At this point he anchored, and remained employed
in trading with the natives and making repairs until the 18th; May 18.
he then sailed down the river, and on the 20th passed the break- May 20.
ers, at its entrance, by beating through them, against a head wind,
into the ocean.

On leaving the river, Captain Gray bestowed upon it the name of his ship; the extremity of the land, at the southern side of its entrance, was called by him *Cape Adams*, and the appellation of *Cape Hancock* was substituted for that of Cape Disappointment, which had been given by Meares to the opposite promontory, in token of the unsuccessful result of his own search. Neither Cape Adams nor Cape Hancock is to be found on our maps at present; and the Columbia is not unfrequently termed the *Oregon*,

---

ing very squally,) we came to, about two miles from the village, (*Chinook*,) which bore west-southwest; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.

May 17.—Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18.—Pleasant weather. At 4 in the morning began to heave ahead; at half-past came to sail, standing down river with the ebb tide; at 7 (being slack water and the wind fluttering) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore southwest-by west, distance three miles. The north point of the harbor bore northwest, distant two miles; the south bore southeast, distant three and a half miles. At 9 a breeze sprung up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to with the kedge and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At 1 came to sail with the first of the ebb-tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship and stood into the river again. At 4 came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.

May 19.—Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments.

Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River*, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock;* the south, *Adams's Point.*

May 20.—Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At 1 P. M. (being full sea) took up the anchor and made sail, standing down river. At 2 the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide, so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three quarters past 2 a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At 5 P. M. we were out, clear of all the bars, and in twenty fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At 8 Cape Hancock bore southeast, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north-by-west. At 9 in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21.—At 6 A. M. the nearest land in sight bore east-southeast, distant eight leagues. At 7 set top gallant sails and light stay-sails. At 11 set steering-sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore southeast-by-east half east, distant five leagues.

1792. upon the strength of some vague and erroneous rumors which Captain Carver collected, or pretended to have collected, in 1766, among the Indians near Lake Superior, respecting a river Oregon, rising in the vicinity of the sources of the Mississippi and Red Rivers, and emptying into the Pacific near the Strait of Fuca. It must, however, be acknowledged that Oregon is, in all respects, a more convenient and distinctive name than the other; and it has, moreover, the merit of euphoniousness.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the discovery of the great river of Northwest America, a discovery far more important in its results than any other one relating to that part of the world, inasmuch as it has afforded the means of communication between the ocean and every section of one of the most fertile and valuable regions west of the Rocky Mountains. It has already been shown that the opening in the coast, by which Gray entered the stream, was first seen in 1775 by the Spanish navigator Heceta; that it was examined in 1788 by Meares, who quitted it with the conviction that no river passed through it into the ocean; and that this last opinion was adopted without qualification by Vancouver, after he had minutely explored that part of the coast, "under the most favorable conditions of wind and weather." Had not Gray returned to the search, after meeting with the English ships, the existence of the great river would doubtless have remained unknown for a much longer time, as the assertions of Vancouver that *no opening, harbor, or place of refuge for vessels, was to be found between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca*, and that *the coast within those limits "formed one compact, solid, and nearly straight barrier against the sea,"* would have prevented any attempt from being made to examine the shores, or even to approach them.

With regard to the originality of Gray's discovery, Mr. Irving says, in his Astoria:* "The existence of this river, however, was known long before the visits of Gray and Vancouver; but the information concerning it was vague and indefinite, being gathered from the reports of the Indians. It was spoken of by travellers as the Oregon, and as the Great River of the West. A Spanish ship is said to have been wrecked at its mouth, several of the crew of which lived for some time among the natives." Upon these assertions no remark will be made, except by expressing a hope that they may be omitted in future editions of Astoria, or that the author will state more particularly what traveller before 1792 has described a great river in Northwest America, which can be identified with the Columbia; and when the Spanish ship was wrecked at the mouth of that stream.

The plenipotentiaries of the British Government, in a *Statement*† presented by them to the minister of the United States, during a negotiation relative to Northwest America in 1826, have endeavored to secure the merit of the discovery of the Columbia to—*Meares!* Their account of the circumstances is worthy of 1792. being extracted, as affording a specimen of the manner in which facts are related, and deductions are drawn from them. In that statement the plenipotentiaries say:

---

* Vol. i, page 35.

† See documents in relation to the boundary of the United States west of the Rocky Mountains, accompanying the President's message of December 12, 1827.

"Great Britain can show that in 1788, that is, four years before Gray entered the mouth of the Columbia River, Mr. Meares, a lieutenant of the royal navy, who had been sent by the East India Company on a trading expedition to the northwest coast of America, had already minutely explored that coast, from the 49th to the 45th degree of north latitude; had taken formal possession of the Straits of De Fuca, in the name of his Sovereign; had purchased land, trafficked, and formed treaties with the natives; and had actually entered the Bay of the Columbia, to the northern headland of which he gave the name of Cape Disappointment—a name which it bears to this day.

"Dixon, Scott, Duncan, Strange, and other private British traders, had also visited these shores and countries several years before Gray; but the single example of Meares suffices to quash Gray's claim to prior discovery. To the other navigators above mentioned, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer more particularly.

"It may be worth while, however, to observe, with regard to Meares, that his account of his voyages was published in London in August, 1790; that is, two years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the Columbia.

"To that account are appended, first, extracts from his log-book; secondly, maps of the coasts and harbors which he visited, in which every part of the coast in question, including the Bay of the Columbia, (into which the log expressly states that Meares entered,) is minutely laid down, its delineation tallying in almost every particular with Vancouver's subsequent survey, and with the description found in all the best maps of that part of the world, adopted at this moment; thirdly, the account in question actually contains an engraving, dated in August, 1790, of the entrance of De Fuca's Straits, executed after a design taken in June, 1788, by Meares himself.

"With these physical evidences of authenticity, it is as needless to contend for, as it is impossible to controvert, the truth of Meares's statement.

"It was only on the 17th of September, 1788, that the Washington, commanded by Mr. Gray, first made her appearance at Nootka.

"If, therefore, any claim to these countries, as between Great Britain and the United States, is to be deduced from priority of the discovery, the above exposition of dates and facts suffices to establish that claim in favor of Great Britain on a basis too firm to be shaken.

"It must, indeed, be admitted, that Mr. Gray, finding himself in the bay formed by the discharge of the waters of the Columbia into the Pacific, was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river; a discovery which had escaped Lieutenant Meares, when in 1788, four years before, he entered the same bay."

1792. In reply to which, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer to the words of Meares himself, as contained in his Journal, and as previously quoted in this memoir, page 93, where he declares that he sought for the River Saint Roc, laid down on the Spanish maps as entering the Pacific about the latitude of 46 degrees 10 minutes; that he entered a bay in that latitude, and became convinced from his examinations that no such river existed; and that, in token of the unsuccessfulness of his search, he had called the bay *Deception Bay*, and the headland on its northern side *Cape Disappointment*. That "Mr. Gray was the first to ascertain that this bay formed the outlet of a great river," is all that is claimed for him; for that *ascertainment* constituted the discovery of the Columbia, which had undoubtedly "*escaped* Lieutenant Meares, when in 1788, four years before, he entered the same bay."

May. From the Columbia river, Gray sailed to the part of the sea between Queen Charlotte's Island and the continent, the coasts of which were then much frequented by the fur-traders, particularly by those from the United States. In the northern part of this sea, his ship suddenly struck upon a rock, while she was under full sail, and was near foundering in consequence; she, however, succeeded in reaching Nootka Sound on the 21st of July, where the damage was soon repaired. At Nootka, Gray found in command of the Spanish establishment Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, who had arrived from Mexico in the capacity of commissioner, to surrender to Vancouver the lands and buildings designated in the first article of the convention of October, 1790. To this officer the American captain immediately communicated the results of his examinations, which were substantiated by charts of Bulfinch's harbor and of the Columbia river; and he thus fortunately secured an unimpeachable witness in support of his claims to the discovery of those places.

Meanwhile the surveys of the Strait of Fuca were in progress. From Cape Flattery, the point at the southern side of its
May 1. entrance, Vancouver took his departure on the 1st of May, and sailed along its southern shore eastward, to the distance of about a hundred miles, where he found a secure harbor, named by him *Port Discovery*, and a little farther on a wide bay, with passages extending from it in various directions. He first entered a passage opening towards the south, which he named *Admiralty Inlet*, and explored it to its termination, about a hundred miles from the strait, in a bay called by him *Puget's Sound*, in compliment to one of the lieutenants of the Discovery. After surveying this arm completely, the officers of both ships landed at a spot near its entrance, on the 4th of June, the birthday of their Sovereign, and in his name took possession, "with the usual formalities, of all that part of New Albion, from the latitude of 39 degrees 20 minutes south, and longitude 236 degrees 26 minutes east, to the entrance of the inlet of the sea, said to be the supposed Strait of Juan de Fuca, as also of all the coasts, islands, &c., within the said strait, and both its shores;" to which region they gave the appellation of *New Georgia*. With regard to this ceremony it

may be observed, that, although naval officers are not expected to be minutely acquainted with diplomatic affairs, yet Captain Vancouver, who was sent to the north Pacific to enforce the convention of October, 1790, should have recollected that, by the stipulations of that convention, every part of the northwest coast of America was rendered free and open for trade or settlement to Spanish as well as British subjects; and that, consequently, no claim of sovereignty on the part of either of those nations could be valid over any section of the territory. 1792.

After exploring to their terminations, in like manner, many inlets on the eastern and southern sides of the bay, the British passed by an opening towards the northwest, into another extensive arm of the sea, where they unexpectedly met with two June 13. other vessels. These were the Spanish schooners Sutil and Mexicana, commanded by Lieutenants Galiano and Valdes, who had, as before mentioned, left Nootka on the 4th of June, and had advanced thus far on their survey of the strait, along its northern shores. The meeting between the two parties was doubtless vexatious to both; they, however, treated each other with great civility, mutually exhibiting their charts, and comparing their observations; and having agreed to unite their labors, they continued in company nearly a month, during which they minutely explored the shores of the extensive arm of the sea above mentioned, called by the Spaniards *Canal del Rosario*, and by the English the *Gulf of Georgia*. From the northwestern extremity July 13. of this gulf, the British, taking leave of their Spanish friends, passed through a long and intricate channel, called by them *Johnstone's Strait*, westward into the Pacific, which they entered on the 10th of August, near the 51st parallel, by *Queen Charlotte's* August. or *Pintard's Sound*, about one hundred and twenty miles north of Nootka.

On the 28th of the same month Vancouver arrived at Nootka, where he communicated to the Spanish commissioner, Quadra, the fact thus established by him, that the supposed Strait of Fuca was merely an arm of the Pacific, separating from the American continent a great island, on the western side of which the territory then occupied by the Spaniards, and claimed by the British, was situated. The fact being admitted by Quadra, the two officers agreed that the island should bear the names of them both; and it has accordingly ever since been distinguished on maps by the long and inconvenient appellation of *Quadra and Vancouver Island*, which it will scarcely be allowed to retain when that part of the world becomes settled by a civilized people. In justice to the British navigator, it should be *Vancouver's Island*.

The Sutil and Mexicana likewise entered the Pacific by the same channel through which Vancouver's ships had penetrated, and on the 30th of August they arrived at Nootka, whence they sailed for Monterey on the 4th of September. The Journal* of their voyage, to which references have been so frequently made

---

* In one vol. octavo of 340 pages, with an atlas of seventeen plates.

1792. in the foregoing pages, was published at Madrid in 1802, by order of the Spanish Government, under the direction of Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, the chief of the Hydrographical Department, who prefixed to it an Introduction containing an historical sketch of the discoveries of the Spaniards upon the west coast of North America. This Introduction, occupying nearly the half of the work, is the only part of it which has any value; the meagre and uninteresting details furnished by Galiano and Valdes being entirely superseded by the ample and luminous accounts of Vancouver. The statements of Navarrete, in his historical sketch, are derived from original sources; and he has conveyed to the world information on various points relating to the northwest coasts, which would otherwise have remained buried in the archives of the Council of the Indies. The work should, however, be read with much caution, as it abounds in errors, the greater number of which are evidently not the results either of ignorance or of accident; while false impressions are attempted to be made in almost every page, by the studied silence of the writer with regard to facts contrary to the views or objects of those by whose orders it was published.

Aug. 30. Immediately after the arrival of Vancouver at Nootka, negotiations were commenced between him and Quadra respecting the transfer of the territories claimed by Great Britain. The whole object of the business was to ascertain *what lands on the northwest coast of America were in the possession of British subjects, and what buildings were standing on those lands in May*, 1789, Sept. *when the Spaniards first occupied Nootka.* For the determination of these questions the commissioners were, or appeared to be, as before said, entirely unprovided with instructions from their Governments; and they were thus left to form their own conclusions, upon such evidence as they could collect.

With this view Quadra had first applied to Maquinna and his principal men, who denied that any lands had been bought, or any houses had been built, by the English at Nootka, in 1789, or at any other time. As the testimony of the savages, however, could not be considered of much value, the Spaniard addressed his inquiries, as above mentioned, to Messrs. Gray and Ingraham, and to Viana, the Portuguese captain or mate of the Iphigenia, all of whom happened to be at Nootka in the summer of 1792. The American captains sent in reply a long and circumstantial account* of all the occurrences connected with the subject of the discussion, which they had themselves witnessed. In it they declare, that although they had remained at Nootka nine months, (including the period of the arrival of Martinez,) during which time they were in habits of constant intercourse with Maquinna and his people, they had never heard of any purchase of land on the coast by British subjects; and that the only building seen by them, when they reached the sound, was a hut consisting of rough posts, covered with boards made by the Indians, which had been entirely destroyed before the entrance of the Spaniards. These statements were in all points confirmed by those of Viana; and the Spanish commissioner was thereupon led to the conclusion, *that no lands were to be restored, and no buildings to be replaced, by Spain.* A communication to that effect was in consequence addressed by him to Vancouver, soon after the arrival of the latter at Nootka, accompanied by copies of the letters received from Gray and Ingraham and Viana. He, however, at the same time offered, for the sake of removing all causes of disagreement between the two nations, to surrender to the English the small spot of ground on Friendly Cove, which had been temporarily occupied by Meares, to give up for their use the houses and cultivated lands, and to retire to the Strait of Fuca; with the understanding, that this cession was not to affect the rights of his Catholic Majesty to the dominion of the territory, and that Nootka was to be considered as the most northern settlement of the Spaniards, to whom the whole coast and country lying south of it belonged exclusively. 1792. Septemb.

---

* See Appendix—[D.]

Vancouver, on the other hand, had thought proper to construe the first article of the convention of 1790 as giving to his countrymen *possession of the whole territory surrounding Nootka and Clyoquot;* and he therefore refused to receive what was offered by Quadra, declaring, with regard to the concluding part of the Spaniard's proposition, that he was not authorized to enter into any discussion as to the rights or claims of the respective nations. In this conviction he was supported by the evidence of Robert Duffin, the former mate of the Argonaut, who happened to arrive at Nootka while the negotiation was in progress. This person, in a letter of which Vancouver gives a synopsis in his journal, stated—that he had himself been present in May, 1788, at the purchase by Meares, from Maquinna, of the whole of the land forming Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, for eight sheets of copper and some trifling things; that the purchase was made in his Britannic Majesty's name, and under the British flag; and that houses and sheds were built on the spot by Meares, who left them in good repair on his departure for China; though he (Duffin) understood that no vestige of these buildings remained when the Spaniards took possession of the sound.

Upon the strength of this evidence, Captain Vancouver pronounced the assertions of Messrs. Gray and Ingraham to be entirely false; and he takes occasion, in several parts of his journal, to animadvert in severe language upon what he is pleased to term "the wilful misrepresentations of the Americans, to the prejudice of British subjects." Means have already been afforded in the preceding chapter for judging with regard to the probability of the truth of Duffin's assertions; and some idea may be formed of the extent of Captain Vancouver's candor, by comparing the letter of Gray and Ingraham, as given in the Appendix, [D,] with the synopsis of it contained in the journal of the English navigator. It will thus be seen, that in Vancouver's synopsis the evidence of the Americans is garbled in the most unfair manner; and that whatever could tend to place the British or their cause in an un-

1792. Septemb. favorable light, is made to disappear by artful suppressions and alterations. The bitterness of Vancouver towards Gray and Ingraham may, perhaps, be accounted for, in part at least, by the circumstance, that on his arrival at Nootka he learned the success of Gray's search for a great river, on the very coast which he had himself, diligently, as he thought, but vainly, explored with the same object.

The negotiations* between the commissioners were continued during the greater part of September; until at length, finding it impossible to effect any arrangement of the business intrusted to them, they agreed to submit the whole affair, with such additional information as they had been able to obtain, to their respective Governments, and to await further instructions; Nootka 1792. being, in the mean time, considered as a Spanish port. Vancouver accordingly despatched one of his lieutenants to England with accounts of the transactions; and in the early part of October Oct. 12. he sailed towards the south, with three vessels—the Discovery; his own ship, the Chatham, commanded by Lieutenant Broughton; and the Dœdalus, which had recently joined him under Lieutenant Whidbey. About the same time Captain Quadra departed for Monterey, leaving the settlement at Nootka under the charge of Fidalgo; and the American ship Columbia and brig Hope directed their course homeward by way of Canton.

---

* The preceding sketch of the negotiation between Vancouver and Quadra is derived from the journals of Vancouver, Galiano and Valdes, and Ingraham. Ingraham obtained his information principally from Mr. Howel, the supercargo of the American brig Margaret, (previously a clergyman of the Church of England,) who acted as translator for the Spanish commissioner, and saw the whole of the correspondence. He drew up for Ingraham a written statement, which is given at length in the journal of the American captain, and of which the following is an extract:

"The indefinite mode of expression adopted by Messrs. Fitzherbert and Florida Blanca did not affix any boundaries to the cession expected by Great Britain; what the buildings were, or what was the extent of the tract of land to be restored, the plenipotentiaries did not think proper to determine. Don Juan Francisco, having no better guide, collected the best evidence he could procure, and that could enable him to determine what were the lands and buildings of which the British subjects were dispossessed, and which the tenor of the first article of the convention alone authorized him to restore. The result of this investigation, in which he was much aided by your communication, supported by the uniform declarations of Maquinna and his tribe, sufficiently evinced that the tract was a small corner of Friendly Cove, and, to use the words of Captain Vancouver, little more than a hundred yards in extent any way; and the buildings, according to your information, dwindled to one hut. Señor Quadra, having ascertained the limits usually occupied by Mr. Meares or his servants, was ever ready to deliver it in behalf of his Catholic Majesty to any envoy from the British Court. Captain Vancouver arrived at Nootka Sound in the latter end of August; and Señor Quadra wrote to him on the subject of their respective orders, and enclosed your letter, together with one from a Captain Viana, a Portuguese, who passed as captain of the Iphigenia, when she was detained by the Spaniards. Don Juan Francisco, in his letter, avowed his readiness to put Captain Vancouver in possession of the tract of land where Mr. Meares's house once stood, which alone could be that ceded to Great Britain by the convention. Señor Quadra offered, likewise, to leave for his accommodation all the houses, gardens, &c., which had been made at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, as he intended leaving the port immediately. In the same letter, he tendered Captain Vancouver offers of every service and assistance which hospitality or benevolence could dictate. Captain Vancouver, in reply, gratefully acknowledged the intended favors, but entirely dissented from the boundaries affixed by Señor Quadra to the tract of land, of which he was to receive the possession and property; and in pursuance of his directions, interpreted the first article as a cession of this port, viz: Nootka Sound, *in toto, together with Clyoquot or Port Cox.* He disclaimed all retrospective discussion of the rights, pretensions, &c., of the two courts, and also of the actual possessions of British subjects in Nootka Sound, deeming it irrelevant to the business he was authorized to transact, and only to be settled by the respective Monarchs. The letters which followed on both sides were merely a reiteration of the foregoing proposals and demands. Señor Quadra invited to a discussion of the boundaries, &c., and supported his evidence with well-grounded reasoning; yet Captain Vancouver steadily adhered to the demands he first made, and refused every kind of discussion. The definitive letter from Señor Quadra was transmitted on the 15th of September; but it being of the same nature with the preceding ones, Captain Vancouver only replied by a repetition of his former avowal, and informing the Spanish commandant that he could receive on the part of his master, the King of Britain, no other territories than those he had pointed out in his other letters, with which, if Señor Quadra did not comply, he must retain them for his Catholic Majesty until the respective Courts should determine what further proceedings they might deem necessary."

Vancouver quitted Nootka on the 13th of October, taking with Oct. 13. him charts and descriptions of the harbor and river discovered by Gray in the preceding April, of which he had received copies from the Spanish commissioner, Quadra. On the 18th he reached the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor, to explore which he detached Lieutenant Whidbey in the Dœdalus, while he himself proceeded with the other vessels to the mouth of the Columbia. Into that river the Chatham, with great difficulty, penetrated on the 20th. The Discovery was unable to cross the bar, and Vancouver, being convinced from his observations that the stream was inaccessible to large ships, "except in very fine weather, with moderate winds and a smooth sea," he sailed to the bay of San Francisco, where he had ordered the other officers to join him in case of separation. In December following the whole squadron was reunited at Monterey, where Whidbey and Broughton presented the reports of their observations.

Whidbey's account of Bulfinch's Harbor was less favorable than than of Gray. From the statements of both, however, it appears that the place possesses advantages which must render it important, whenever the surrounding region becomes settled. It affords a safe retreat for small vessels, and there are several spots on its shore where boats may land without difficulty; moreover, it is the only harbor on the coast, between Cape Mendocino and the Strait of Fuca, except the mouth of the Columbia; and under such circumstances, labor and ingenuity will certainly be employed to correct and improve what nature has offered. It has been already remarked, that the place is generally distinguished on British, and even on American maps, as *Whidbey's Harbor*, although Vancouver himself has not pretended to withhold from Gray the merit of discovering it.

Broughton, as before mentioned, entered the Columbia with Oct. 20. the Chatham on the 20th of October; and he there, to his surprise, found lying at anchor the brig Jenny, from Bristol, which had sailed from Nootka Sound a few days previous. Scarcely had the Chatham effected an entrance, ere she ran aground; and the channel proved to be so intricate, that Broughton determined to leave his vessel about four miles from the mouth, and to pro- Oct. 24. ceed up the stream in his cutter. A few words will suffice with regard to his survey, of which a long and detailed account is given in the second volume of Vancouver's Journal.

The portion of the Columbia near the sea was found by the

1792. Oct. 24. explorers to be about seven miles in width; its depth varied from two fathoms to eight; and it was crossed in every direction by shoals, which must always render the navigation difficult, even Oct. 26. by small vessels. Higher up, the stream became narrower, and at the distance of twenty-five miles its breadth did not exceed a thousand yards. These circumstances were considered by Broughton and Vancouver as authorizing them to assume that the true entrance of the *river* was at the last-mentioned point, and that the waters between it and the ocean constituted an *inlet* or *sound.* From the extremity of this *inlet*, the party rowed eighty-four miles up the *river*, in a southwest course, to a bend, where Oct. 30. the current being so rapid as to prevent them from advancing without great labor, they abandoned the survey and returned to Nov. 5. their vessel. The angle of land around which the river flowed, and where their progress was arrested, received the appellation of *Point Vancouver;* the part of the *inlet* where the ship Columbia lay at anchor during her visit, was called *Gray's Bay;* and that immediately within Cape Disappointment was named *Baker's Bay*, in compliment to the captain of the Jenny. On the 10th of November the Chatham quitted the Columbia, in com- Nov. 23. pany with the Jenny, and arrived at the Bay of San Francisco before the end of the month.

The distinction which Vancouver and Broughton have thus endeavored to establish between the upper and the lower parts of the Columbia is entirely destitute of foundation, and at variance with the principles upon which our whole geographical nomenclature is formed. *Inlets* and *sounds* are arms of the sea, running up into the land; and their waters, being supplied from the sea, are necessarily salt. The waters of the Columbia are, on the contrary, fresh and potable within ten miles of the Pacific; their volume, and the impetuosity of their current, being sufficient to prevent the farther ingress of the ocean billows. The question appears, at first, to be of no consequence; the following extract from Vancouver's Journal will, however, serve to show that the quibble was devised by the British navigators, with the unworthy object of depriving Captain Gray of the merits of his discovery: "Previously to his [Broughton's] departure, he formally took possession of the river, and the country in its vicinity, in his Britannic Majesty's name, *having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized nation or State had ever entered this river before.* In this opinion he was confirmed by Mr. Gray's sketch, in which it does not appear *that Mr. Gray either saw, or ever was within five leagues of its entrance.*" Comments on this passage are needless.

1793. From the Bay of San Francisco, Vancouver despatched Lieutenant Broughton to Europe, by way of Mexico, with further communications to his Government respecting the transfer of Nootka; and he then proceeded with his vessels to the Sandwich Islands, the importance of which, as places of resort for obtaining repairs and refreshments, began by that time to be properly estimated. He there succeeded in effecting a peace, and reciprocal recognitions of independence, between Tamahamaha, the celebrated chief of Owyhee, and Titeree, the sovereign of the other islands; 1793. and he also caused the execution of several of the natives, who had been delivered up to him as the murderers of two officers of the Dœdalus in the preceding year, but who were afterwards ascertained to have been guiltless of the crime imputed to them.* Having performed these acts of justice, he sailed towards the northwest coast, and arrived at Nootka in May, 1793.

The following summer was passed by the British navigators in exploring the passages north and northeast of Queen Charlotte's Islands, which had been partially examined by Caamano in 1792. It would be needless to present the particulars of these researches, which were conducted in the most masterly manner. The results were, the discovery and survey of a number of islands, situated at short distances apart, between the 54th and the 58th parallels of latitude, in a space which had been previously regarded as occupied by a portion of the American continent. The inlet found by Gray, and supposed by him to be the *Rio de los Reyes* of Fonté, was traced to its termination in the land near the 56th parallel; and whilst a part of the story of that admiral's voyage appeared to be confirmed by the discovery of the Archipelago, the remainder was believed to have been completely disproved, inasmuch as no great river was found entering that part of the Pacific.

The islands, straits, bays, and capes thus discovered, were nearly all named in honor of the members of the royal family, the ministry, the peerage, and the other branches of the Government of Great Britain. Thus we find on Vancouver's map of the northwest Archipelago, the islands or groups of *King George the Third, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, the Admiralty*, and *Pitt;* one small group, which had been partially surveyed by Caamano, received the appellation of *Rivellagigedo Islands*, in compliment to the Viceroy of Mexico. Between these islands run the *Duke of Clarence's Strait*, *Prince Frederick's Sound*, *Chatham Canal*, *Grenville Canal*, *Burke's Canal*, *and Stephen's Passage;* the capes and bays being distributed among the *Windhams*, *Dundases*, and other high tory families of that day. It is, however, improbable that any one of these names will ever be employed by the inhabitants of the region in which the places so called are situated. The Russians, who now occupy the whole west coast of America and the adjacent islands north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes, appear to have excluded, as far as possible, the appellations bestowed by the subjects of other States. Thus, on their charts of the north Pacific, *Cook's Inlet* is termed the *Bay of Kenay; Prince William's Sound* is the *Gulf of Tschugatsch; Admiralty Bay* is the *Bay of Yakutat;* and *Norfolk Sound*, the *Port Guadelupe* of the Spaniards, is the *Gulf of Sitca.* The territory called by Vancouver *King George the Third's Island*,

---

* For the particulars of the trial and execution of these unfortunate savages, see Vancouver's Journal, vol. ii, page 204. Captain Broughton, when he visited the Sandwich Islands in 1795, was assured of their entire innocence, as may be seen in his Journal, page 42.

1793. has been since found to be divided by channels into four islands, which are severally distinguished by the names of *Chichagof*, *Baranof*, *Jacobi*, and *Krooze*. The *Prince of Wales's Islands* are *Tschirikof's Islands*; *Admiralty Island* is *Hoosnoof*; and *Stephen's Passage* is the *Strait of Acco*.

1794. Feb. 25. These surveys having been completed, the British ships retired on the approach of cold weather to the Sandwich Islands, where Vancouver contrived to obtain from King Tamahamaha the cession of the sovereignty of Owyhee to his Britannic Majesty, with the understanding, however, that the native chief and his officers, as well as the priests, "were to continue to officiate in their respective stations, and that no alteration in those particulars was in any degree thought of or intended." In return for *the present*, the British navigators built a vessel of war for the King, by the aid of which he soon after brought several other islands of the group under his dominion.*

Mar. 14. In the spring of 1794 Vancouver sailed from the Sandwich Islands to the bay called Cook's River, which he minutely explored; and having ascertained that no considerable stream emptied into it, as had been previously supposed, he changed its name to *Cook's Inlet*. Thence he proceeded to Prince William's Sound, which he also examined carefully; and from that place he continued his survey eastwardly, until he reached the Archipelago discovered by him in 1793. Through this Archipelago he again sailed for the purpose of completing his observations; and on the 2d of August he arrived at Nootka, satisfied that "the precision with which his survey of the coast of Northwest America had been conducted, would remove every doubt, and set aside every opinion of a northwest passage, or any water communication navigable for shipping between the north Pacific and the interior of the American continent, within the limits of his researches." We now know that no such communication exists east of Beering's Strait; but when we take into consideration the intricate character of the shores between Mount Saint Elias and the southern part of the Strait of Fuca, it must be admitted that many passages by which vessels could thus penetrate the continent might have long escaped the notice of the most careful navigators. In fact, a river called the *Stikine*, which is three miles wide at its mouth, and a mile wide at the distance of thirty miles from the sea, has been, within a few years, discovered emptying into the Pacific, in the latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes.

Sept. 2. At Nootka the Spaniards were found still in possession, under the command of Colonel Alava, who had been, moreover, appointed commissioner of his Government, in place of Captain Quadra, lately deceased. No orders had been received from Europe relative to the surrender of the territory, and the British ships accordingly proceeded to Monterey, where the long expected instructions arrived during their stay. The Court of Madrid had agreed to abandon Nootka; and on the part of Great Britain, another commissioner was despatched to the Pacific to receive possession 1794. of the place, if Vancouver should have quitted that ocean. Under these circumstances Vancouver resolved to return to England, 1795. where he arrived in August, 1795.

---

* This justly celebrated man died in 1819, having some years previous established his authority over all the islands of the group.

The Journals of Vancouver's voyage were published in 1798, before which period the navigator had sunk into the grave. The work is invaluable, notwithstanding the illiberal spirit which pervades its pages. In none other can be found so much clear and precise information with regard to the northwest coasts of America; and it is only to be lamented that one endowed with such courage, capacity, and professional skill, as the author evidently possessed, should have been so far governed by unworthy prejudices as he evidently was. Towards the Spaniards he appears to have been inclined, generally, to act with justice, or at least with courteousness; but against all citizens of the United States, and their country, he cherished the most bitter animosity, which was in many instances too powerful to be controlled by his sense of honor. Whenever an opportunity presented itself, or could be contrived, for exhibiting the character or conduct of Americans in an unfavorable light, it was eagerly seized by Vancouver; and that which he would have pardoned or commended in an Englishman or a Spaniard, became criminal in his eyes when committed by a citizen of the hated Republic.

The observations of Vancouver form the basis of our best maps of the west coast of America, from the 30th degree of latitude to the northern extremity of Cook's Inlet, as also of those of the Sandwich Islands, which he surveyed with care. The maps contained in the atlas annexed to the Journal of the Voyage of the Sutil and Mexicana, are nearly all copied from those of the British navigator.

Whilst these surveys of the Pacific coasts of North America 1789. were in progress, Alexander Mackenzie, a Scotchman in the service of the celebrated fur-trading association, called the *Northwest Company*, was exploring the unknown regions of the continent bordering upon that part of the ocean. The association by which he was employed had been formed in 1787, among the principal fur-merchants of Canada, for the purpose of carrying on the trade between the posts of that country and such of the British territories of the interior as were supposed to be not included in the grant to the *Hudson's Bay Company;* and within two years afterwards, its establishments had been advanced as far as *Lake of the Hills*, or *Athabaska Lake*, near the 59th parallel of latitude, about eight hundred miles beyond Lake Superior.

From *Fort Chipewyan*, the trading-station on this lake, Mackenzie departed on his first journey in June, 1789, and proceeded in a boat down the *Slave River*, which flows out of the lake, directly northward, into the *Great Slave Lake*, discovered by Hearne in 1770. Thence he continued northwestward, down another and much larger stream, on which he bestowed his own name, to its termination in a sea near the 69th degree of latitude; and having thus fulfilled the objects of his expedition, he returned to Fort Chipewyan. The mouth of the *Mackenzie* was situated

1789. much farther west than that of the *Coppermine*, which Hearne
had reached; and the probability of the existence of a northern
navigable communication between the Pacific and the Atlantic,
east of Beering's Strait, was thus considerably lessened; while, on
the other hand, stronger grounds were afforded for the belief that
the northernmost parts of America were bathed by an open sea.

1792. In his second expedition, begun in October, 1792, Mackenzie
Oct. 10. ascended the *Unjigah*, or *Peace River*, (which empties into the
Athabasca Lake,) westward to its sources, among the Rocky
1793. Mountains. Having crossed this chain, he embarked upon another large stream called the *Tacoutchee*, which he descended to a
short distance; and then marching directly westward, he reached
July 22. the Pacific on the 22d of July, 1793, at the mouth of one of the in-
Aug. 24. lets near the Princess Royal Islands, in the latitude of 52 degrees
and 20 minutes.* By this second journey, he ascertained that no passage existed through the North American continent, opening into the Pacific south of the parallel above mentioned; which fact had been already, though less decisively, proved by Vancouver in the preceding year. The Tacoutchee was for some time supposed to be the principal branch of the Columbia; it has, however, been subsequently found to be a much smaller stream, emptying into the Strait of Fuca, and it is now known as *Frazer's River*.

The journals of Mackenzie's two expeditions were published together, at London, in 1802, accompanied by a history of the Canada fur trade, and by observations on the mode of conducting the commercial intercourse between America and China advantageously to the interests of Great Britain. He there recommends that the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies, which had been at war with each other ever since the formation of the latter, should be united; that the British Government should favor the establishment of communications across the continent, for which the Tacoutchee, supposed by him to be the Columbia, would afford great facilities; and that the East India Company should throw open to their fellow-subjects the trade between the northwest coasts and Canton, which was then, as he says, "left to the adventurers of the United States, acting without regularity or capital, or the desire of conciliating future confidence, and looking only to the interest of the moment." Experience has proved the justice of Mackenzie's observations; and nearly all his suggestions have been adopted, to the manifest advantage of Great Britain.

It is proper to notice here an account of an expedition across the American continent, made between 1791 and 1794, by a party of citizens of the United States, under the direction of Julius Rodman, whose journal has been recently discovered in Virginia, and is now in course of publication in a periodical magazine† at

---

* On the day of Mackenzie's arrival on the shore of the Pacific, Vancouver was examining another inlet situated about one hundred and fifty miles farther north.

† Burton's Magazine and American Monthly Review, edited by William E. Burton and Edgar A. Poe. Mr. Rodman's journal is commenced in the number for January, 1840, and is continued in those for the next following months.

1792. Philadelphia. The portion which has yet appeared relates only to the voyage of the adventurer up the Missouri during the summer of 1791; and no idea is communicated of their route beyond that river, except in the Introduction by the editor, where it is stated that they traversed the region "west of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the 60th parallel, which is still marked upon our maps as unexplored, and which, until this day, has been always so considered." From what has been published, it is impossible to form a definitive opinion as to the degree of credit which is due to the narrative, or as to the value of the statements, if they are true; and all that can be here said in addition is, that nothing as yet appears, either in the journal or relating to it, calculated to excite suspicions with regard to its authenticity.

1795. To conclude with regard to the delivery of Nootka.

The commissioner appointed by the British Government to receive possession of that place, provided Vancouver should have left the Pacific, was Captain Robert Broughton, the former commander of the Chatham. He sailed from England in the ship
Providence in October, 1794, and in April, 1796, he reached 1796
Nootka, which he found occupied only by the natives. He there learned from a letter, presented to him by Maquinna, dated March, 1795, that "the Spaniards had delivered up the port of Nootka, &c., to Lieutenant Pierce, of the marines, [who had been despatched from England, by way of Mexico, in order to hasten the termination of the business,] agreeably to the mode of restitution settled between the two Courts."[*]

This is the account given by Broughton.[†] On the other hand, Belsham, an historian whom no one can suspect of want of attachment to the honor and interests of his country, says:[‡] "It is nevertheless certain, from the most authentic subsequent information, *that the Spanish flag flying at the fort and settlement of Nootka was never struck, and that the whole territory has been virtually relinquished by Great Britain;* a measure, however politically expedient, which involves in it a severe reflection upon the minister who could permit so invidious an encroachment upon the

---

[*] In the library of Congress at Washington is an interesting Spanish manuscript, presented by General Tornel, during his residence in the United States as minister from Mexico, entitled *Instruccion Reservada del Reyno de Nueva España que el Exmo. Señor Virrey Conde de Revillagigedo diô á su sucesor el Exmo. Señor Marques de Branciforte en el año de* 1794; that is to say—Secret Instructions, or rather notes on the Kingdom of New Spain, given in 1794 by the Viceroy, Count de Revillagigedo, to his successor, the Marquis de Branciforte. This work, which abounds in curious details relative to the administration of affairs in Mexico, has been carefully examined, with reference to the objects of the present memoir. Nothing, however, has been collected from it, except in confirmation of statements elsewhere made. The paragraphs from 703 to 713, inclusive, are devoted to the *Marine Department of San Blas*, to which, as already mentioned, the care of the Spanish colonies in California was committed. The Count recommends to his successor the maintenance of those colonies, as the best means of preserving Mexico from foreign influences; advising him, at the same time, however, not to extend the establishments beyond the Strait of Fuca. With regard to Nootka, it is merely stated, in paragraph 713, that orders had been sent to the commandant to abandon the place, agreeably to a royal *dictamen*.

[†] Broughton's Journal of his Voyage, page 50.

[‡] Belsham's History of Great Britain, vol. viii, page 337.

1796. ancient and acknowledged rights of the Crown of Spain." The probability is, that the Spaniards merely abandoned the place.

Since that period, no attempt has been made by any civilized nation to form an establishment at Nootka or in its vicinity, although the sound continued to be, and probably still is, occasionally visited by the fur-traders. The most recent accounts of it which have been published, are of no later date than 1807, when King Maquinna was enjoying the fulness of health and of power; and although his manners appeared to have then become more refined, he was still at heart a cruel and treacherous savage.[*]

In this and the next preceding chapters, an endeavor has been made to present an impartial view of the circumstances connected with the occupation of Nootka by the Spaniards in 1789; and it is believed that the erroneousness of the statements of the British political and historical authorities respecting those circumstances has been conclusively demonstrated. It has been shown that—

No part of "*the northwest coasts of the continent of North America, or of the adjacent islands*," was, or ever had been, occupied by British subjects prior to the formation of the Spanish post at Nootka, in 1789:

That, consequently, no "*buildings or tracts of land*" in that quarter were "*to be restored to British subjects*," agreeably to the convention of October 28, 1790: and, as a farther consequence,

That the abandonment of Nootka by the Spaniards, in 1795, gave to Great Britain no other rights at that, or any other place in Northwest America, than those derived from the third and fifth articles of the abovementioned convention, by which her subjects were at liberty to navigate and fish in the north Pacific, to trade or settle in unoccupied parts of its American coasts north of the parts occupied by the Spaniards before April, 1789, (that is to say, north of the Bay of San Francisco;) and to have free access to any Spanish settlement on the coasts thus designated.

---

[*] Narrative of the Destruction of the ship Boston, of Boston, and of the murder of all her men except two, by the savages at Nootka Sound, in March, 1803, with accounts of that country and of its inhabitants: by John R. Jewitt, one of the survivors of the crew, who remained three years in captivity among the Indians—a simple and unpretending narrative, which will, no doubt, in after centuries, be read with interest by the enlightened people of Northwest America.

CHAPTER VIII,

Comprehending the period between 1796 and 1815—Commerce between the northwest coasts of America and Canton conducted exclusively by vessels of the United States—Formation of the Russian American Company; account of its system and establishments—Complaints of the Russians against the traders of the United States—Cession of Louisiana to the United States; supposed extent of Louisiana in the north and northwest—Expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the mouth of the Columbia—First enterprises of British and American fur-traders in Northwest America—Astoria enterprise—Mouth of the Columbia occupied by the Americans, who are dislodged by the British.

In October, 1796, Spain declared war against Great Britain; and, for nearly twenty years afterwards, the Governments and people of both nations were too much engrossed by events daily occurring in their immediate vicinity to have any leisure to bestow on matters so comparatively unimportant as those connected with the northwest coasts of America. 1796.

During this whole period, the direct trade between those coasts and Canton was carried on *exclusively* by the vessels, and under the flag, of the United States. The British merchants were prevented from engaging in this commerce by the refusal of their own East India Company to allow it; the Russians were not admitted into the Chinese ports, and few ships of any other nation were seen in the north Pacific.

Until 1811 the Americans had formed no establishment on the western shore of the continent. Their vessels sailed from the United States, or from Europe, to the north Pacific, laden with spirits, wine, sugar, tobacco, fire-arms, gunpowder, iron, and coarse manufactures of various sorts, which were exchanged for furs with the natives on the coasts, or with the Russians at their settlements; or sometimes the American captain would hire from a Russian agent a number of hunters and fishermen, with their boats and implements, for the season, and would thus obtain a cargo. The furs were thence carried to Canton, where the proceeds of their sale were invested in teas, porcelain, silks, and nankeens, for the markets of the United States or of Europe. When a sufficient quantity of furs could not be collected in the north Pacific, their place was supplied by sandal-wood, pearl shells, and tortoise shells, which were procured at little expense in the Sandwich and other islands, and always commanded high prices at Canton.

The persons engaged in this trade were constantly exposed to the most dreadful hardships and dangers, against which nothing but extraordinary courage and skill on their parts could have enabled them to struggle successfully. These circumstances were not calculated to soften the feelings or to improve the morals of the traders; and as they were actually subject to no other

1796. laws or restrictions, during their voyages in the Pacific, than such as they themselves chose to adopt or observe, it could not have been expected that their conduct should at all times be conformable with the principles of justice. They have been charged by British reviewers and British naval officers—authorities always to be distrusted on matters pertaining to the United States or its citizens—with practising every species of fraud and violence towards the natives of the coasts and islands of that ocean. It does not, however, appear, upon examining the facts brought forward in support of these accusations, that the American fur-traders were guilty of other or greater improprieties than have ever been, and must ever be, committed by shrewd and intelligent civilized people, when unrestrained by laws, in their transactions with brutal, ignorant, and faithless savages. These latter, in their turn, availed themselves of every occasion to rob and murder the strangers who came to their shores. More than one American ship has been seized, and all on board massacred by the natives of the Pacific coasts; and seldom, indeed, did a vessel from the United States complete her voyage in that ocean, without losing some part of her crew by the treachery of those with whom they were dealing. Thus in March, 1803, the ship Boston, of Boston, commanded by John Salter, was surprised at Nootka, by Maquinna and his followers, and all her men were put to death except two, who, after remaining in slavery three years, effected their escape.[*] In like manner, the Tonquin, Captain Thorn, of New York, fell into the hands of Wiccanish and his subjects at Nittinat, or Berkely Sound, in June, 1811; nearly the whole of her crew perished in a moment, under the clubs and knives of the assailants, and the remainder, with the exception of the Indian interpreter, were soon after destroyed, together with a large number of savages, by the explosion of the powder magazine, which was fired probably by one of the officers.[†]

In the mean time the Russians, though excluded from the direct trade with Canton, were continually increasing and enlarging their establishments in America.[‡] The association formed in 1785, among the merchants of eastern Siberia, for carrying on the fur trade of the north Pacific, was protected and encouraged by the Empress Catherine, who bestowed upon it many valuable privileges. Her son and successor, Paul, was, at the beginning of his reign, inclined to withdraw these advantages, and even to break up the association, on account of the cruel conduct of its agents towards the natives and the Russians who were employed in its service. Reasons of state, however, induced him to abandon this resolution; and he at length, by a decree of the 8th of July, 1799, granted to the united merchants a charter, assuring to them, under the title of the *Russian American Company*, the exclusive use and control, for twenty years, of all the coasts of America on the Pacific, and the islands in that ocean, from Beering's Strait to the 55th degree of south latitude, together with the right of occupying any other territories not previously possessed by some civilized nation. The residence of the directors of the company was at first fixed at Irkutsk, in Siberia, the great depository of the China trade; it was afterwards transferred to St. Petersburgh, and their affairs were placed under the superintendence, or rather the directors were placed under the *surveillance*, of the Imperial Department of Commerce. 1796. 1799. July 8.

---

[*] Narrative of John R. Jewitt, already mentioned at page 142.

[†] A minute and graphic account of the destruction of the Tonquin, collected from the evidence of the interpreter, who afterwards found his way to the Columbia River, is given by Ross Cox, in his account of his residence on the Columbia River, and has been thence transferred by Mr. Irving to his Astoria.

[‡] The following sketch of the Russian establishments in the north Pacific, during the first years of the present century, is derived chiefly from—

I. Narrative of a Voyage around the World, in the years 1803-1806, in the Russian ships Nadeshda and Neva, under the command of Captain A. J. Von Krusenstern. The original edition of this work is accompanied by a large atlas, containing charts and other engravings.

II. Narrative of a Voyage around the World in the Ship Neva, by her captain, Urey Lisiansky.

III. Narrative of a Voyage in the Pacific, by G. H. Von Langsdorf, the physician of the Russian ship Nadeshda.

IV Narrative of a Voyage around the World, in 1815 and 1816, in the Russian ship Kurick, commanded by Lieutenant Otto Von Kotzebue. And from—

V. Various documents existing in the archives of the Department of State, at Washington.

The privileges thus accorded by Paul, were confirmed and extended by Alexander; and, under these favorable auspices, the power and influence of the Russian American Company rapidly advanced. In 1803, its establishments on the north Pacific coasts extended eastward, as far as Port Guadelupe, or Norfolk Sound, called by the Russians the *Gulf of Sitca*, which separates the small Island of Mount San Jacinto, or Edgecumb, or Krooze, from *Baranoff's Island*, the largest of the group named by Vancouver King George the Third's Archipelago. The settlement on the Gulf of Sitca was destroyed by savages in 1804; another was, however, soon founded in the vicinity of the same spot, which received the appellation of *New Archangel*, and has ever since been the capital of Russian America. 1800. 1803. 1804.

In 1806 preparations were made for occupying the mouth of the Columbia River, but the plan was abandoned; although that part of the coast, and all north of it, was then, and for many years afterwards, represented on the maps of the Russian American Company as included within the limits of its possessions. 1806.

The Government of Russian-America was arranged and conducted in the most despotic manner possible, nearly resembling that of a Turkish Pashalik; each factory was superintended by a Russian overseer, who, with the aid of a small number of Russians, maintained absolute control over all the natives in his district, compelling them constantly to labor for the benefit of the company. The overseers were under the superintendence of agents, one of whom resided in each group of settlements; and all were subject to the authority of a chief agent, or governor-general, appointed by the directors, whose powers, though nominally defined and limited by regulations drawn up at St. Petersburgh, were, in fact, absolute and unrestricted. The person who filled the office of governor-general at the beginning of this century, and for many years afterwards, was Alexander Baranoff, a bold, shrewd, enter- 1800.

1800. prising, and unfeeling man, under whose iron rule the affairs of the company prospered, and its stock rose proportionally in value; his proceedings were, therefore, always approved by those to whom he was accountable, and complaints against his tyranny were always disregarded.

The Russians engaged in the service of the company, under the direction of the overseers, were distinguished by the general name of *Promuschleniks*, (meaning *speculators*,) and were employed as hunters, fishermen, seamen, soldiers, or mechanics, as their superiors might command. In the best of these situations, their lot appears to have been more wretched than that of any other class of human beings, with the exception, perhaps, of the natives, whom they aided in keeping under subjection; and it therefore is not surprising that none but vagabonds and adventurers should ever have become promuschleniks. The gallant and humane Krusenstern, in the narrative of his expedition to the Pacific in 1804 and 1805, presents a number of dreadful pictures of the sufferings of these unfortunate persons from want of food, from the severity of the climate, and from too much labor. According to the most recent accounts, it appears that their situation, while they are on land at least, has not been materially improved.*

The greater part of the furs collected on the northwest coasts of America continued to be, during the period mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, transported to Petro-Paulowsk and Ochotsk, from which places were brought nearly all the articles required for the use of the settlements; the remainder of the supplies being obtained from American vessels in the manner already described. The Russian Government, however, soon became desirous to exclude the vessels of the United States from the north Pacific, not only from a wish to monopolize the fur trade, but also in order to prevent the natives of the coasts from procuring arms and ammunition, with which they were furnished by the Americans, to the great detriment of the authority and interests of the Russian company. For this purpose, it would be necessary to maintain a naval force in the vicinity of the settlements, and to establish regular communications, by ships, between them and Europe; and, with the view of inquiring how those measures might be best executed, as well as of opening, if possible, some intercourse with Japan and the ports of China, it was determined that a scientific and political expedition should be made to the north Pacific.

1803. Two ships, the Nadeshda, commanded by Captain Krusenstern, and the Neva, by Captain Lisiansky, were accordingly despatched from Cronstadt in August 1803, carrying out the chamberlain, Von Resanoff, as ambassador to Japan, and plenipotentiary of the Russian-American Company, together with a large body of officers and men of science. These were the first vessels, under the Russian flag, which crossed the equinoctial line; they passed around Cape Horn, and, touching at the Washington and the Sandwich Islands, they reached the coasts of the north Pacific in the summer of 1804. Without detailing the subsequent occurrences of the expedition, which lasted until the summer of 1806, it will be sufficient to say, that none of the political or commercial objects proposed were attained. The Japanese, as usual, refused peremptorily to allow any intercourse to be carried on between their dominions and those of Russia; nor would the Chinese admit the commercial ships of the latter Power into Canton. The plans of Von Resanoff (who appears to have been a ridiculous and incompetent person) for the management of the affairs of the company proved wholly inapplicable; and the propriety of immediately expelling the Americans from the north Pacific, even could it be done, was rendered very questionable by the fact that the garrison and inhabitants of Sitca would have all infallibly perished from famine, in the winter of 1805–'6, had they not been fortunately supplied with provisions by the ship Juno from Rhode Island.* Finally, whatever may have been the conclusions formed upon the information acquired during the expedition, as to the practicability of maintaining a direct commercial intercourse, by sea, between the Russian ports in Europe and their settlements on the Pacific, certain it is that no attempt for that purpose was again made until 1814. 1803. 1806.

---

* It will be recollected that these accounts are derived from *Russian* authorities.

The expedition above mentioned was, however, in all respects, highly honorable to those who conducted it. The accounts separately published by Krusenstern, Lisiansky, and Langsdorf, particularly those of Krusenstern, are among the most instructive works which have appeared relating to the north Pacific and its coasts. They exhibit, indeed, frightful pictures of the misery endured by the persons in the service of the Russian-American Company; but they, at the same time, present instances of fortitude, perseverance, and good feeling, on the part of the Russians, calculated to counteract any unfavorable impressions which might otherwise have been formed with regard to the general character of that people.

After the return of Krusenstern's ships, representations were addressed by the Russian Government to that of the United States, with regard to the improper conduct of American citizens in trading in arms and ammunition with the natives on the coasts of the north Pacific; and endeavors were made to procure the passage by Congress of some act, or the conclusion of some convention between the two nations, by the effect of which such commerce might be prevented. These representations producing no results, Count Romanzoff, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, proposed to Mr. Adams, the American Envoy at St. Petersburgh, an arrangement by which the vessels of the United States should be allowed to transport furs from the Russian settlements to China, on condition that they should abstain from all 1808. 1810.

---

* Langsdorf, vol. ii, page 89.

1810. trade with the natives on the northwest coasts. Mr. Adams, in his answer to this proposition, desired to know—within what latitudes the restriction would be expected to be observed? and the reply being, that the Russian-American Company claimed possession of the whole coasts extending from Beering's Strait to the southward of the Columbia River, the correspondence was not continued. An arrangement conformable with the views of the 1812. Russians was, in 1812, concluded between their American company and a citizen of the United States, but circumstances prevented it from being carried into execution.

Before 1812, Sitca was the most southern portion on the western side of America occupied by the Russians. In that year they formed an establishment in California, which deserves particular notice. The chief agent, Baranoff, obtained from the Spanish Governor of Monterey permission to erect some houses, and to leave a few men on the shore of the small Bay of Bodega, near Port San Francisco, in order to procure and salt the meat of the wild cattle, which overrun that country, for the supply of the settlement at New Archangel. In the course of two or three years after this permission was granted, the number of the persons thus employed had become so great, and their dwelling-place had assumed so much the appearance of a fortress, that the Governor thought proper to remonstrate on the subject; and his representations being disregarded, he formally commanded the Russians to quit the territories of his Catholic Majesty. The command was treated with as little respect as the remonstrance; and when it was repeated, the Russian agent, Kuskoff, replied by denying the right of the Spaniards over the country, which he asserted to be vacant and open for occupation by the subjects of any civilized Power. The Governor was unable to enforce his orders; 1815. and as no assistance could be afforded to him from Mexico, which was then ravaged by civil wars, the intruders were left in undisturbed possession of the ground, where they have ever since remained, in defiance alike of the Spaniards and of their republican successors.*

The Russian-American Company, about the same period, made another effort to create a direct commercial intercourse by sea between its settlements on the Pacific and the European ports of the Empire. With this object, the American ship Hannibal was purchased from Mr. Astor, of New York; and her name having been changed to the *Suwarrow*, she was despatched from Saint Petersburgh, in 1814, under the command of Lieutenant Lazaref, laden with goods for New Archangel. She returned in 1816 with a cargo of furs, valued at a million of dollars; and the adventure having been pronounced successful, others of the same nature were undertaken.

In 1815 Baranoff endeavored to obtain possession of Atooi, one

---

* The Russians have now several establishments in that part of California, of which the principal, called *Ross*, is situated immediately on the Pacific, in latitude of 38 degrees and 33 minutes, about thirty miles north of Port Bodega, or Port Romanzoff, as the Russians have named it.

of the Sandwich Islands. For that purpose about a hundred 1815.
men, nearly all Aleutians, were sent in two vessels from Sitca, under the direction of Dr. Sheffer, a German, who had arrived in the Pacific as surgeon to the ship Suwarrow. They landed on the island, which they ravaged, without subduing it, for more than a year, and were then obliged to depart for Owyhee, where they entered the service of some American whalers, by whom they were finally restored to their country. The Russian Government appeared to disapprove this act of Baranoff; and no attempt has been since made by subjects of that or any other foreign nation to invade those islands.

The Government of the United States had before this period begun to assert claims to the possession of the territory drained by the Columbia river, the origin and extent of which claims will now be traced.

The discovery of the Columbia by Gray attracted very little 1792 to 1800.
attention in the United States for more than ten years after it had been effected. None but persons concerned in the fur trade of the north Pacific, and the curious in geographical matters, were acquainted with the fact, and no one imagined that any thing connected with that river would ever be considered important to the Americans in a political point of view. The territories of the United States were then bounded on the west by the river Mississippi, and on the north by the dominions of Great Britain; beyond the Mississippi lay the vast region called *Louisiana*, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico northward and northwestward to an undefined extent; so that all communication, except by sea, between the Federal Republic and the Pacific side of America, was completely barred by the intervention of countries belonging to foreign and rival Powers. Louisiana, originally settled by the French, had been ceded, in 1762, to Spain, which held it until October 1, 1800, and then retroceded it to France, "the same in extent," says the treaty of retrocession, "as it now is in the hands of Spain, as it was when France formerly possessed it, and as it should be, according to the treaties subsequently made between Spain and other nations."

Under such circumstances, any claims of the United States to territories bordering upon the Pacific, would have been nominal and barren, and all attempts to realize them must have proved abortive. But the position of the Americans, and the views of 1803. April 30.
their Government towards the northwestern section of the continent, were materially changed after the 30th of April, 1803, when Louisiana came into their possession by purchase from France, "with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully, and in the same manner, as it had been acquired from Spain" in 1800. Before relating the dispositions made in consequence of this cession, some observations will be necessary respecting the northern and northwestern limits of the country which thus became the property of the United States.

The earliest attempt, either real or ostensible, to define the boundaries of Louisiana, was made by Louis XIV, in 1712, in the patent by which he granted to Antoine Crozat the exclusive

1712 trade of that country. The patent declares it to be the will of the King, that "all the territories by him possessed, bounded by New Mexico, and by the lands of the English in Carolina, and all the establishments, ports, harbors, rivers, especially the port and harbor of Dauphin Island, formerly called Massacre Island, the river Saint Louis, formerly called the Mississippi, from the seacoast to the Illinois country, together with the rivers Saint Philip, formerly called the Missouri, and the Saint Jerome, formerly called the Wabash, [the Ohio,] with all the lands, countries, lakes in the land, and the rivers falling directly or indirectly into that part of the river Saint Louis, shall be and remain comprised under the name of the Government of Louisiana, which shall be subordinate to the General Government of New France; and that all the lands by him possessed on this side of the Illinois, shall be reunited to, and form part of, the General Government of New France; the King, nevertheless, reserving to himself the privilege of increasing the extent of Louisiana, as he may judge proper." Agreeably to this exposition of its limits, Louisiana extended, in 1712, northward to about the 42d parallel of latitude, and westward to New Mexico; between which latter country and the Pacific, California intervened. What portion of the continent northward of that parallel, and west of the great lakes, the Illinois country thus attached to New France was supposed to comprehend, there are no means of ascertaining. The French maps of the early part of the last century represent as included in *New France* many rivers flowing towards the Pacific, none of which, however, exist as there described; while the Spaniards, on the other hand, regarded the whole unoccupied region northwest of New Mexico as forming part of their own *California*; and the British geographers recorded the claims of their nation to the same territory, by constantly applying to it the name of *New Albion.*

In 1713 the celebrated peace of Utrecht was concluded. In the tenth article of the treaty between Great Britain and France, "it is agreed on both sides to determine within a year, by commissaries to be forthwith named by each party, the limits which are to be fixed between the said Bay of Hudson," (then secured, with its adjacent territories, to Great Britain,) "and the places appertaining to the French: which limits both the British and French subjects shall be wholly forbid to pass over, or thereby to go to each other by sea or by land. The same commissaries shall also have orders to describe and settle, in like manner, the boundaries between the other British and French colonies in those parts." That commissaries were appointed agreeably to this provision, there is reason to believe; but there is no sufficient evidence that any boundaries were determined by them. Two distinct lines may, however, be found traced on different maps published in the last century, each purporting to be the limit between the Hudson's Bay territories on the north, and the French possessions on the south, fixed by commissaries according to the treaty of Utrecht. One of these lines follows the course, or supposed course, of the highlands which separate the waters flowing into Hudson's Bay from those emptying into the great lakes and the Saint Lawrence. The other is drawn irregularly from the Atlantic to a point in the 49th parallel of latitude, south of the southernmost part of Hudson's Bay, and thence westward along that parallel to Red River; and in some maps still farther west. This latter line is generally considered in the United States, and has been assumed by their Government,* as the true boundary settled by the commissaries, agreeably to the treaty above mentioned; but this opinion is at variance with the most accredited authorities, as will be seen by reference to the Appendix, [E,] containing a review of all the works from which exact information could be expected. 1803.

In 1717, Crozat relinquished his exclusive privileges with regard to Louisiana; after which, the Illinois country was added to that province by a royal arrêt, and the whole territory was granted to the *Compagnie d'Orient*, generally known as Law's Mississippi Company. In 1763, France gave up to Great Britain all her possessions east of the Mississippi, except a small tract near New Orleans, having, a short time previous, ceded the remainder of Louisiana to Spain.† By these arrangements, the middle of the Mississippi, from its source, to the river Iberville, near New Orleans, became the dividing-line between the British possessions on the east and those of Spain on the western side, nothing being fixed with regard to territories north of the said source; and from that period to 1803, when Louisiana became the property of the United States, its extent towards the north or northwest could not have been affected by any treaty hitherto made public, unless by the convention of October, 1790, between Spain and Great Britain, which applied to all American territories claimed by Spain upon the Pacific, north of the 39th degree of latitude.

From the preceding review, it will be seen that history fur-

---

* The earliest official assertion to this effect, on the part of the Government of the United States, which has been found, is contained in the following sentence extracted from a letter addressed by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, at Madrid, on the 12th of April, 1805, to Don Pedro Cevallos, the Spanish Minister of State: "In conformity with the tenth article of the first-mentioned treaty, [treaty of Utrecht,] the boundary between Canada and Louisiana, on the one side, and the Hudson's Bay and Northwestern Companies on the other, was established by commissaries, by a line to commence at a cape or promontory on the ocean in 58 degrees 31 minutes north latitude; to run thence southwestwardly to latitude 49 north from the equator, and along that line indefinitely westward."

† The act by which France ceded Louisiana to Spain was signed at Fontainebleau by the French minister, the Duc de Choiseul, and the Spanish ambassador, the Marquess de Grimaldi, on the 3d of November, 1762. It was ratified by the King of Spain on the 13th of the same month, and by the King of France on the 23d. These documents were kept secret until 1836, when copies of them were obtained from the Departments of Foreign Affairs of France and Spain, by the late J. M. White, of Florida; and translations of them by the writer of this memoir were submitted to the Senate of the United States, and published by its order, in 1837. The act of cession throws no light on the question as to the limits of Louisiana. The words of the original, describing the territory ceded, are: "Sa Majesté très Chrétienne cède en toute propriété, purement et simplement, et sans aucune exception, à sa Majesté Catholique, et à ses successeurs, à perpetuité, tout le pays connu sous le nom de la Louisiane, ainsi que la Nouvelle Orléans, et l'île dans laquelle cette ville est située."

1803. nishes no means of determining what were the precise limits of Louisiana on the north or northwest, when that country came into the possession of the United States. The customs of civilized nations in such cases, however, authorize the assumption that those limits comprehended the whole region west of the Mississippi drained by that river and its tributary streams; while the same customs prohibit the supposition that any territory west of the Rocky Mountains should be considered as part of Louisiana.

Even before the cession of Louisiana to the United States had been completed, the prompt and sagacious Jefferson, then President of the Republic, was preparing to have that part of the continent examined by American agents. On the 18th of January, 1803, he addressed to the Congress of the United States a confidential message, recommending that means should be taken for that purpose without delay; and his suggestions having been approved, he commissioned Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke to carry his plan into execution. Those officers were instructed to explore the river Missouri and its principal branches to their sources, and then to seek and trace to its termination in the Pacific, some stream, "whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce."*

A few days after the delivery of these instructions to Lewis, as commander of the expedition, the news of the cession of Louisiana reached the United States, and he immediately set off for the west. Some difficulties, however, prevented his party from crossing the Mississippi in that year; and it was not until the
1804. 14th of May, 1804, that they entered the Missouri, and began its ascent in boats. Their progress was necessarily slow; yet, before the end of October, they arrived in the country of the Mandan Indians, where they remained until the following April, encamped at a place situated sixteen hundred miles from the mouth of the
1805. Missouri. In the summer of 1805, they explored that river to its head-waters, among the Rocky Mountains, and, having crossed the great dividing-ridge, they found immediately beyond it a number of streams flowing westward. Upon one of these they embarked in canoes on the 7th of October, and were soon carried by its current into a river, which they called the *Lewis*, and which proved to be a principal branch of the Columbia. In a few days they reached the confluence of the Lewis with the other great branch named by them the *Clarke;* and on the 15th of November they landed at Cape Disappointment, or Hancock's Point, on the northern side of the entrance of the Columbia into the Pacific, after a journey of more than four thousand miles from their place of departure.

1806. The winter of 1805–'6, was passed by Lewis and Clarke, and their followers, in an encampment on the south side of the Columbia, near its mouth, which they called *Fort Clatsop.* The savages, who were already accustomed to the presence of strangers, conducted themselves peaceably; and there was no want of food, such as could be procured from the river or sea. On the 13th of March, 1806, the Americans began their return to the United States, in canoes, which they rowed up the Columbia to its falls, situated about one hundred and twenty-five miles from the Pacific. Thence they continued their journey by land to the Rocky Mountains, which they crossed in two bodies by separate routes; the one under Lewis striking directly eastward to the falls of the Missouri, while the other, conducted by Clarke, made a southern march to the sources of the Yellow Stone, and descended that river to the Missouri. The parties were again united just below the point of junction of those streams, and on the 23d of September they arrived at Saint Louis. 1806. July. Aug. 12.

---

* These instructions may be found at length in the biographical sketch of Captain Lewis, written by Mr. Jefferson, and prefixed to the journal of the expedition, printed at Philadelphia in 1814. The message above mentioned is contained in the executive proceedings of the Senate, vol. i, page 429.

The above sketch will serve to show the general course of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke; a more extended account of which would be either insufficient or superfluous. With regard to the priority of their discoveries, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, in the *statement* presented by them to the American minister, during the negotiation in 1826, make the following observations:

"In reply to the allegations, on the part of the United States, that their claim to the country in question is strengthened and confirmed by the discovery of the sources of the Columbia, and by the exploration of the course of that river to the sea, by Lewis and Clarke, in 1805–'6, Great Britain affirms, and can distinctly prove, that, if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, her Northwest Trading Company had, by means of their agent Mr. Thompson, already established their posts among the Flat-head and Kootanie tribes, on the head-waters or main branch of the Columbia, and were gradually extending them down the principal stream of that river; thus giving to Great Britain in this particular, as in the discovery of the mouth of the river, a title of parity at least, if not of priority of discovery, as opposed to the United States. It was from these posts that, having heard of the American establishment forming in 1811 at the mouth of the river, Mr. Thompson hastened thither, descending the river to ascertain the nature of that establishment."

As the words "*in the same and subsequent years*" are rather indefinite, the dates of the occurrences above mentioned will be stated somewhat more exactly. Lewis and Clarke reached the Pacific Ocean, after exploring the Columbia River from one of its most eastern head-waters in the Rocky Mountains to its mouth, on the 15th of November, 1805. In the spring of 1806, as will hereafter be shown, Mr. Simon Frazer, and other persons in the employment of the Northwest Company, crossed the Rocky Mountains, through the great gap near the 56th degree of latitude, and established the first British trading-post west of that chain, on Frazer's Lake, about two degrees farther south; but no evidence has been obtained that British subjects had ever visited any part [illegible] of the country drained by the Columbia, above the falls of that river, before the summer of 1811. In that year, Mr. Thompson, astronomer of the Northwest Company, and his party, on their way down the stream, for the purpose of anticipating the Americans at its mouth, did build some huts on the northern branch, and did there open trade with the Flat-head and Kootanie Indians; and from those posts Mr. Thompson did indeed hasten down to the ocean, where he, however, found the citizens of the United States in full possession.

1807. Soon after the return of Lewis and Clarke, an effort was made by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to fix the boundary between the possessions of the two Powers in America west of the Mississippi and the lakes. By the fifth article of the convention, agreed on at London in April, 1807, between Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney, on the one part, and the Lords Holland and Auckland, on the other, it was stipulated that "a line drawn due north or south (as the case may require) from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, until it shall intersect the 49th parallel of north latitude, and, from the point of such intersection, due west, along and with the said parallel, shall be the dividing-line between his Majesty's territories and those of the United States, to the westward of the said lake, as far as their said respective territories extend in that quarter; and that the said line shall, to that extent, form the southern boundary of his Majesty's said territories and the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party on the continent of America to the westward of the Stoney Mountains." This article was approved by both Governments; President Jefferson, nevertheless, wished that the *proviso* respecting the northwest coast should be omitted, as it [*]"could have little other effect than as an offensive intimation to Spain that the claims of the United States extend to the Pacific Ocean. However reasonable such claims may be, compared with those of others, it is impolitic, especially at the present moment, to strengthen Spanish jealousies of the United States, which it is probably an object with Great Britain to excite, by the clause in question." The convention, however, was not concluded; and no other negotiation, relative to boundaries west of the great lakes, took place between the British and American Governments until 1814.

A narrative of the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, compiled from the journals of those officers and of some of their men, was published at Philadelphia in 1814; the most material circumstances and discoveries, however, became generally known immediately after the return of the exploring party, and the information led to commercial enterprises on a large scale in the United States and in British America. Before noticing these enterprises more particularly, it should be mentioned, that ever since 1807. the conclusion of the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1794, between the United States and Great Britain, a considerable trade had been carried on by Americans with the Indians inhabiting the countries about the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior. The returns from this traffic were made exclusively in furs, which were transported to New York, and thence shipped for London or Canton; the business was conducted chiefly under the direction and by means of the funds of John Jacob Astor, a German merchant of large capital residing in New York; though many individuals in the western States and Territories of the republic were engaged in it on their own account, especially after the acquisition of Louisiana, which opened a much wider field for their exertions. Still, the greater portion of the furs sent from America were those collected by the British trading companies, which were continually extending their establishments westward, and even southward, within the supposed limits of the United States, to the annoyance of the citizens of that republic. To all these individuals and associations the discoveries of Lewis and Clarke presented new views of advantages, which each endeavored without delay to appropriate.

---

[*] Letter of July 30th, 1807, from Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State of the United States, to Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney.

The British fur-traders made their first establishment beyond 1806. the Rocky Mountains in 1806. An expedition* for this purpose had been contemplated by them in the preceding year, in consequence of information respecting the views of the American Government, obtained while Lewis and Clarke were spending the winter of 1804–'5 at the Mandan town on the Mississippi; but it

---

* The statements in this paragraph are derived principally from D. W. Harmon's Journal of his Voyages and Travels in the northern parts of America, published at Andover, in Vermont, in 1820. Harmon was first a clerk, and afterwards a partner, in the Northwest Company, and for several years presided over all its establishments west of the Rocky Mountains. Some extracts from his journal may be here inserted.

Saturday, November 24, 1804.—Some people have just arrived from Montagne la Basse, with a letter from Mr. Chaboillez, who informs me that two captains, Clarke and Lewis, with one hundred and eighty soldiers, have arrived at the Mandan village, on the Missouri River, which place is situated about three days' distance from the residence of Mr. Chaboillez. They have invited Mr. Chaboillez to visit them. It is said that, on their arrival, they hoisted the American flag, and informed the natives that their object was not to trade, but merely to explore the country; and that, as soon as the navigation shall open, they design to continue their route across the Rocky Mountains, and thence descend to the Pacific Ocean.

Wednesday, April 10, 1805.—While at Montagne la Basse, Mr. Chaboillez induced me to consent to undertake a long and arduous tour of discovery. I am to leave that place about the beginning of June, accompanied by six or seven Canadians and two or three Indians. The first place at which we shall stop will be the Mandan village, on the Missouri River; thence we shall steer our course towards the Rocky Mountains, accompanied by a number of the Mandan Indians, who proceed in that direction every spring, to meet and trade with another tribe of Indians, who reside on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. [This journey I never undertook; a Mr. La Roque attempted to make this tour, but went no farther than the Mandan village.]

At page 291 he says: "The part of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, with which I am acquainted, has ever since the Northwest Company first made an establishment there, which was in 1806, gone by the name of New Caledonia," &c. In many parts of his work he speaks of Mr. Simon Fraser as having led the first party of traders beyond the Rocky Mountains in 1806.

A review of the work may be found in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1822.

1806. was not carried into effect until the spring of 1806, when Mr. Simon Frazer, a partner of the Northwest Company, established a trading-post on *Frazer's Lake*, near the 54th parallel, in the country since called *New Caledonia*.

The earliest attempts made by citizens of the United States, for similar purposes, were those of an association formed at St. Louis in 1808, called the *Missouri Fur Company;* at its head was an enterprising Spaniard, named Manuel Lisa, through whose exertions, chiefly, several trading-posts were, within the two ensuing years, established on the Upper Missouri, and one beyond the Rocky Mountains, on the head-waters of the Lewis, the southern branch of the Columbia. The post on the Lewis appears to have been the first ever formed by white men in the country drained by the Columbia; the enmity of the savages in its vicinity, and the difficulty of procuring a regular supply of food, however, obliged Mr. Henry, the superintendent, to abandon it in 1810.

1810. Another association, for the prosecution of the fur trade on the northwestern side of the continent, which was formed at New York in 1810, requires particular notice, as the transactions connected with it have assumed a character decidedly political. This association was called the *Pacific Fur Company.** Its originator was John Jacob Astor, the German merchant above mentioned, on whose commercial sagacity and efficiency it would be needless to dilate. He was, in fact, the company; one-half of its shares were held, nominally at least, by other persons, but every measure was dictated by him, and carried into effect by means of his capital. His plan was to establish trading-posts on the Columbia and its branches, as well as on the Pacific coasts and the head-waters of the Missouri, which were to be supplied with the necessary articles, either by way of the latter river, or from a principal factory, to be founded at the mouth of the Columbia, whither all the furs collected at the other places were, at stated periods, to be brought. The principal factory was to receive goods by ships sent out annually from New York, which, having discharged their cargoes at the mouth of the Columbia, were to be reladen with furs for Canton, whence they would carry back to New York teas, silks, and other Chinese productions. It was also contemplated that the Russian settlements on

---

* The sketch of the history of the Pacific Company, which follows, has been derived from—

I Letter from J. J. Astor to Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, dated January 23, 1823, with documents annexed, published with President Monroe's message to Congress, of the 27th of the same month. Other letters, unpublished, from Mr. Astor, have also been examined, and many curious details have been received from him verbally.

II. Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains: by Washington Irving; compiled chiefly from the papers of Mr. Astor. The work is too well known to require farther observations respecting it.

III. Adventures on the Columbia River: by Ross Cox. The author had been employed as a clerk in the Pacific Company, which he quitted for a similar situation under the Northwest Company; his book contains many details relative to the fur trade and its establishment in the region of the Columbia.

1810.

the Pacific should be furnished by the company's vessels with such foreign articles as they required, furs being taken in exchange; and, in order to effect this more completely, as well as to prevent the occurrence of difficulties, which might otherwise be anticipated, an agent was despatched to St. Petersburgh, who concluded an arrangement securing to the Pacific Company, under certain conditions, the exclusive privilege of trading with the Russian American possessions.

For the execution of these plans, Mr. Astor engaged, as partners in the concern, a number of persons, nearly all Scotchmen, who had been long in the service of the Northwest Company, together with some Americans and Canadians, who were acquainted with the fur trade. These partners were to conduct the business in the west, under the direction of a general agent, chosen by them for five years; and they were to share among themselves one half of the profits, the other half being retained by Mr. Astor, who advanced all the funds, and superintended the affairs at New York. The persons required for the inferior offices and employments having been also engaged, the first party quitted New York for the Columbia in September, 1810, in the ship Tonquin, commanded by Jonathan Thorne; in January following, the second detachment set out from St. Louis, on its way across the continent, under the direction of Wilson Price Hunt, of New Jersey, who had been appointed general agent by the board of partners. The ship Enterprise, Captain Ebbetts, had also been sent in 1809 to the North Pacific, to make preparatory researches and inquiries among the Russian settlements, and on the coasts which were to be the scenes of the new company's operations.

1811.
March 23.

The Tonquin arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in March, 1811; and, her goods and passengers having been there landed, she sailed towards the north in search of furs. Before her departure, a spot was chosen on the south bank of the river, eight miles from the ocean, as the site of the principal factory, which, in compliment to the originator of the enterprise, was named *Astoria*. In the course of the ensuing summer, the most essential buildings were erected, gardens were planted, trade was begun with the natives, a small vessel was built and launched, and every thing appeared to promise success to the establishment.

July.

In July a detachment of persons in the service of the Northwest Company arrived at Astoria, under the direction of Mr. Thompson, the astronomer of that association, who had left Montreal in the previous year, with the object of anticipating the new company in occupying the mouth of the Columbia. On their way down, they built huts and hoisted flags, and bestowed names on various spots, by way of *taking possession*, as they considered it, of the territory for their sovereign. They, however, arrived too late at the most important point; and were obliged to retrace their course to the northward, having been received and treated with great attention at the factory by their old friends, Messrs. McDougall, Mackay, and Stuart, the partners of the Pacific Company, then directing its affairs in the west. From the in-

1811. formation which has been obtained, it appears to be certain that by this party were established the first British trading-posts on the Columbia; and that they were, indeed, the first white men who ever navigated the northern branch of that river.

In the course of this summer, also, several trading-posts were established by the Pacific Fur Company in the interior of the country; of which, the principal was one situated at the confluence of a river, called the Okanagan, with the Columbia, about four hundred miles from the mouth of the latter. During the winter which followed, the people of Astoria were subjected to many discomforts, but nothing occurred calculated to lessen their hopes as to the ultimate success of the undertaking.

Meanwhile, the other party of the Pacific Company's men, proceeding from St. Louis, under Mr. Hunt, ascended the Missouri, to the country of the Arickara Indians, near the Great Bend of the river, and thence pursued their journey by land to the Rocky Mountains. After passing this ridge, near the 45th degree of latitude, they descended one of the branches of the Lewis, (probably that now called *Salmon River*,) to the Columbia, and reached Astoria in the spring of 1812, having undergone innumerable difficulties from cold, fatigue, and want of food. Scarcely had they arrived at the factory, when news was received of the destruction of the ship Tonquin and her whole crew, with the exception of the Indian interpreter, at one of the inlets near Nootka Sound; the crew were overpowered by the savages, who killed the greater part of them immediately, and the vessel was then blown up by the clerk and others who had taken refuge in the hold. This disaster was calculated to depress the hopes of the persons engaged in the enterprise; their courage, however, appears to have been undiminished, and they pursued their labors diligently, being confident that the company (that is to say, Mr. Astor) could bear much heavier pecuniary losses without injury to its credit.

1812. May 9. In May, 1812, the Astorians were still farther encouraged, by the arrival of the ship Beaver from New York with supplies and reinforcements; and it was determined (unfortunately for the cause, as will afterwards appear) that Mr. Hunt should sail in her to the northern coasts, and visit the Russian settlements, in order to see what commercial intercourse could be carried on with them. He accordingly took his departure in that vessel in Aug. August, leaving the affairs of the factory under the direction of Mr. Duncan McDougall, one of the Scotch partners, who had been so long in the service of the Northwest Company.

1813. January. In January, 1813, the news of the declaration of war by the United States against Great Britain reached Astoria, where it was brought by persons sent for the purpose from New York; and, in the course of June following, Mr. McTavish, one of the partners of the Northwest Company, arrived at the factory from Canada, bringing rumors of the approach of a British naval force to take possession of the mouth of the Columbia. These announcements appear to have been received with satisfaction by Mr. McDougall and his brother Britons, three of whom (including

Ross Cox, the author of *Six Years on the Columbia*) immediately 1813.
quitted the service of the Pacific Company, and entered that of the rival association; while the others almost unanimously agreed to abandon the enterprise, unless they should speedily receive assistance and supplies from New York.

From New York, however, nothing came. The ship Lark had been despatched by Mr. Astor with articles and men for Astoria; but she was wrecked near the coast of one of the Sandwich Islands, in the latter part of 1813. The Government of the United States had also determined, in consequence of Mr. Astor's representations, to send the frigate Adams to the north Pacific, for the protection of the infant settlement; but, just as she was about to sail from New York, it became necessary to transfer her crew to Lake Ontario, and the blockade of the American ports by British fleets rendered all farther efforts to convey succors to Astoria unavailing.

Soon after the partners of the Pacific Company had formed the resolution, as above mentioned, to abandon the concern unless they should receive assistance, Mr. Hunt, the chief agent, re- Aug. 20.
turned to Astoria in the ship Albatross. He had spent the summer of 1812 in visiting the Russian settlements at Sitca, Unalashka, and Kodiak, and had collected a valuable cargo of furs, which were carried to Canton in the Beaver. Hunt, however, accompanied that ship no farther than to the Sandwich Islands, where he was informed of the war between the United States and Great Britain; and, being anxious to convey the news without delay to Astoria, he chartered the ship Albatross of Boston, which was then lying at Wahoo, and proceeded in her to the Columbia. He was at first astounded at the resolution adopted by the other partners, but he was at length induced to concur with them as to its propriety; and, after remaining a few days, he again sailed to the south Pacific, in the Albatross, for the pur- Aug. 26.
pose of finding some ship to convey the furs, then stored in the factory, to Canton. At Nooahevah, (one of the Washington Islands, discovered by Ingraham in 1791,) he learned that a Nov.
British squadron, under Commodore Hillyer, was on its way to the Pacific, in order to occupy the mouth of the Columbia; upon receiving this news, he hastened to the Sandwich Islands, and, having there chartered the American brig Pedlar, he sailed in her for Astoria, where he arrived on the 28th of February, 1814.

The fate of the Pacific Company, and of its establishments in Northwest America, had, however, been decided ere the arrival of the Pedlar in the Columbia.

On the 7th of October a body of men in the service of the Oct. 7.
Northwest Company came down the river to Astoria, under the direction of Messrs. McTavish and Stuart. They arrived without either ammunition or provisions, while the people of the factory, who nearly equalled them in number, were well supplied in every respect, and their fortifications and heavy guns would have enabled them to withstand any attacks which might have been anticipated under ordinary circumstances. The new comers, however, brought information, upon which the partners

1813. at Astoria could depend, and which proved to be perfectly correct, that a large armed ship, the *Isaac Todd*, had been fitted out at London, by the Northwest Company, and was on her way to the Columbia, under convoy of a frigate, *with the object of taking and destroying every thing American* in that quarter. Messrs. McTavish and Stuart, on communicating this news, to which they added accounts of the complete blockade of the coasts of the United States by British squadrons, at the same time proposed to purchase the whole of the establishments, furs, and other property of the Pacific Company, in the territory of the Columbia, at prices to be fixed by common consent; they also offered to engage in the service of the Northwest Company any of the persons attached to the American concern, at the same wages which they were then receiving, and to send back to the United States such as might not choose to be thus employed. To these propositions the partners at Astoria resolved to assent; and an agreement was accordingly signed, between them and the chiefs of the other
Oct. 16. party, on the 16th of the month, by which "*all the establishments, furs, and property*," above mentioned, were sold to the Northwest Company, for about forty thousand dollars, given in the shape of bills on Montreal.*

The business appears to have been managed, on the side of the Pacific Company, almost entirely by Mr. McDougall, whose conduct on many occasions, during the transaction, as well as afterwards, was such as to induce suspicions that he was actuated by improper motives of self-interest. It is, however, difficult to determine what other course ought to have been pursued by him and the other partners, under existing circumstances. They might, indeed, have held out their stockaded fort against the enemy, or have effected a retreat with their property to some place in the interior; but this would have been to no purpose, while they could expect neither to receive supplies of goods for trading from the United States, nor to send their furs for sale to Canton. Mr. Astor declares that he would have preferred the loss of the place and property by a fair capture to a sale which he considered disgraceful; and those who know him well are convinced that he speaks as he feels. But mercantile men are, in general, supposed to consider discretion among their agents as the better part of valor; and McDougall may have reasonably considered himself bound to act rather for the interests than for the glory of the Pacific Company.

Dec. 1. While the business of the transfer of the furs and merchandise at Astoria was in progress, the British sloop of war Racoon entered the Columbia, under the command of Captain Black, who had hastened thither in hope of securing a rich share of plunder by the capture of the fort and magazines of the Pacific Company. He found the flag of the United States waving over the

---

* This contract may be found at length in the American State Papers, edited by Lowrie and Franklin, (Miscellaneous,) vol. ii, page 1011. The fourth article contains a complete list of all "*the establishments, furs, and stock on hand*," with their respective valuation; the *buildings* are valued at £800.

factory, which was surrendered, immediately on his appearance, 1813.
by the chief agent McDougall; but the furs and goods which were to reward himself and his crew for their exertions, had become the property of their own fellow-subjects, and were then floating up the river in the barges of the Northwest Company.
The captain of the Racoon could, therefore, only lower the flag Dec. 12.
of the United States, and hoist that of Britain over the factory, the name of which he at the same time, and with *due solemnity*, changed to Fort George. These duties being completed, he took his departure for the south.*

Three months afterwards, (that is, on the 28th of February, 1814.
1814,) Mr. Hunt† arrived at the Columbia in the brig Pedlar, Feb. 28.
which he had, as already stated, chartered for the purpose of conveying the property of the Pacific Company to Canton. He found Mr. McDougall in charge of the factory, not, however, as an agent of that company, but as a partner of the Northwest Company, into which he had been already admitted; and Hunt

---

* It will be interesting, if not useful, here to insert the account of the capture of Astoria, as related by Ross Cox, who received his information at the place, shortly after the event.

"Captain Black took possession of Astoria in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and rebaptized it by the name of 'Fort George.' He also insisted on having an inventory taken of the valuable stock of furs, and all other property purchased from the American company, with a view to the adoption of ulterior proceedings in England for the recovery of the value from the Northwest Company; but he subsequently relinquished this idea, and we heard no more about his claims. The Indians at the mouth of the Columbia knew well that Great Britain and America were distinct nations, and that they were then at war, but were ignorant of the arrangement made between Messrs. McDougall and McTavish, the former of whom still continued as nominal chief at the fort. On the arrival of the Racoon, which they quickly discovered to be one of 'King George's fighting ships,' they repaired armed to the fort, and requested an audience of Mr. McDougall. He was somewhat surprised at their numbers and warlike appearance, and demanded the object of such an unusual visit. Comcomly, the principal chief of the Chinooks, (whose daughter McDougall had married,) thereupon addressed him in a long speech; in the course of which he said that King George had sent a ship full of warriors, and loaded with nothing but big guns, to take the Americans and make them all slaves, and that, as they (the Americans) were the first white men who settled in their country, and treated the Indians like good relations, they had resolved to defend them from King George's warriors, and were now ready to conceal themselves in the woods close to the wharf, from whence they would be able with their guns and arrows to shoot all the men that should attempt to land from the English boats, while the people in the fort could fire at them with their big guns and *rifles*. This proposition was uttered with an earnestness of manner that admitted no doubt of its sincerity; two armed boats from the Racoon were approaching, and, had the people in the fort felt disposed to accede to the wishes of the Indians, every man in them would have been destroyed by an invisible enemy. Mr. McDougall thanked them for their friendly offer; but added, that notwithstanding the nations were at war, the people in the boats would not injure him or any of his people, and, therefore, requested them to throw by their war shirts and arms, and receive the strangers as their friends. They at first seemed astonished at this answer; but, on assuring them in the most positive manner that he was under no apprehensions, they consented to give up their weapons for a few days. They afterwards declared they were sorry for having complied with Mr. McDougall's wishes; for when they observed Captain Black, surrounded by his officers and marines, break the bottle of port on the flag staff, and hoist the British ensign after changing the name of the fort, they remarked that, however we might wish to conceal the fact, the Americans were undoubtedly made slaves; and they were not convinced of their mistake until the sloop of war had departed without taking any prisoners."

† Mr. Hunt is now the postmaster at St. Louis.

1814. had, therefore, merely to close the concerns of the former association in that part of America, and to receive the bills given in payment for its effects. Having done this, he re-embarked in the Pedlar; and, taking with him three of his former companions in trade, he sailed for the United States, by way of Canton. Of the other persons who had been connected with this enterprise, some engaged in the service of the Northwest Company, and some returned across the continent to the United States.

Such was the termination of the Astoria enterprise, for no attempt has been since made by the Pacific Company, or by any of its members, to form a trading establishment on the northwest coast of America. The scheme was most wisely projected, and its failure can scarcely be attributed to any circumstances, the occurrence of which might have been anticipated when its execution was begun. That ships might be lost at sea, and that the adventurers might suffer from cold, or hunger, or the attacks of savages—casualties such as those were to be expected, and provision was made against them; but in 1810, when the Tonquin sailed from New York, no one anticipated that before the end of two years the United States would have been at war with the most powerful maritime nation in the world. The war traversed every part of the plan. Communications between the ports of the United States and the Columbia by sea, were rendered difficult and uncertain; while those by land were of little advantage, and were liable to interruption by the Northwest Company; besides which, the furs could no longer be transported with safety to Canton. Moreover, all the most active and skilful persons in the employment of the Pacific Company, except Mr. Hunt, were British subjects, whose feelings of attachment for their native land and its cause naturally rendered them discontented, when they were thus placed, in a manner, conspicuously among the ranks of its enemies. If Mr. Astor may be considered as having acted imprudently in any part of his arrangement, it was certainly in engaging so large a proportion of persons unconnected with the United States by birth, citizenship, or feelings, in the formation of establishments which were so essentially American in character and objects. That those establishments should have fallen, must be a subject of regret to every American, as there can be little if any doubt that, had they been maintained until the termination of the war, the enterprise would have succeeded, and the whole region drained by the Columbia would now be in the quiet and undisputed possession of the people of the United States.

CHAPTER IX.

Restoration of the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia to the United States, agreeably to the *treaty* of Ghent, and subsequent assertions of the British Government with regard to that act—Convention of October, 1818, between Great Britain and the United States, relative to the countries west of the Rocky Mountains—Florida treaty between Spain and the United States, concluded in 1819—Remarks on the convention of 1790—Proceedings in the Congress of the United States relative to the northwest coasts, in the year 1820 and in subsequent years—Measures adopted by Great Britain with regard to those territories, in 1821—Act of Parliament establishing jurisdiction of British courts throughout the Indian countries of North America—Coalition of the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies—Decree of the Russian Emperor in 1821, and negotiations between the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia, for the settlement of their several claims—Conventions of 1824 between Russia and the United States, and of 1825 between Russia and Great Britain—Renewal, in 1827, of the convention of 1818 between Great Britain and the United States—Negotiation between the American and the Russian Governments relative to the renewal of the fourth article of the convention of 1824.

THE capture of Astoria was not known to the plenipotentiaries of the United States at Ghent, when they signed the treaty of December 24, 1814. That treaty contained no allusion to boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods; the subject, however, had been discussed during the negotiation, and the American ministers were instructed by their Government to consent to no claim on the part of Great Britain to the post at the mouth of the Columbia, or to any other territory south of the line forming the northern boundary of the United States, which was considered as running along the 49th parallel of latitude. The representatives of the Republic at Ghent accordingly proposed that the said parallel should form the dividing-line between the British territories on the north and those of the United States on the south, to the westward of the Lake of the Woods, "as far as the said respective territories extend in that quarter: *Provided,* That nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to, or claimed by, either party on the continent of America, to the westward of the Stoney Mountains." The British accepted the proposition; but they insisted on adding to it a stipulation, that their subjects should at all times have access through the territories of the United States to the Mississippi, and the right of navigating that river; which being rejected by the Americans, the subject of boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods was dropped. 1814.

* By the first article of the treaty of Ghent, it was nevertheless agreed, "*that all territory, places, and possessions whatsoever,*

---

* See President Monroe's message to Congress of April 11, 1815, with the documents annexed; also, the *statement* presented by the British ministers at London to Mr. Gallatin, on the 28th of December, 1826, among the documents accompanying President Adams's message to the House of Representatives of March 15, 1828.

1815. *taken by either party from the other during or after the war,"* except certain islands in the Atlantic claimed by both, "*should be restored without delay;*" and Mr. Monroe, then Secretary of State of the United States, accordingly announced to the British chargé d'affaires at Washington, in July, 1815, the intention of the President to cause the post at the mouth of the Columbia to be reoccupied immediately. No measure for that purpose was, how- 1817. ever, taken until the latter part of 1817, when Mr. J. B. Prevost and Captain J. Biddle, the commander of the sloop of war Ontario, were jointly commissioned to proceed to the mouth of the Columbia, and there to assert the claim of the United States to the sovereignty of the country, in a friendly and peaceful manner, and without the employment of force. Mr. Astor had, in the mean time, made several applications to the Government for its aid towards the re-establishment of his factories in that quarter; and it was chiefly in consequence of his solicitations that these measures were adopted.

The Ontario sailed from New York for the Pacific on the 4th of October, 1817, under the command of Captain Biddle, carrying out also the other commissioner, Mr. Prevost. In the following month Mr. Bagot, the British envoy at Washington, addressed to the Secretary of State some inquiries respecting the destination of that ship, and the objects of her voyage; and having been informed on those points, he, in a succeeding communication, re- Nov. 26. monstrated against any attempt by the United States to occupy the country adjacent to the Columbia, contending that the whole region belonged to Great Britain, "having been early taken possession of in his Majesty's name, and been ever since considered as part of his Majesty's dominions;" and that the establishment there made by American citizens had been voluntarily abandoned, "under an agreement with the Northwest Company, which had purchased their effects, and had ever since retained peaceable possession of the coast."

1818. As soon as the news of the departure of the Ontario and of the objects of her voyage reached London, Lord Bathurst, the British Secretary for the Colonial Department, despatched an order to the agents of the Northwest Company at the mouth of the Columbia, directing them to give due facility for the re-occupation of that Jan. 26. settlement by the officers of the United States, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent; and a similar order was sent from the Admiralty to the commander of the British naval Feb. 1. forces in the Pacific. About the same time, Lord Castlereagh proposed to Mr. Rush, the American envoy at London, that the question respecting the possession of the post on the Columbia should be referred to commissioners. To this Mr. Rush objected, on the simple grounds that the spot was in the possession of the United States before the war, and that it fell by belligerent capture into the hands of Great Britain during the war; which facts being notorious, there could be no doubt that it should be restored agreeably to the treaty. Lord Castlereagh, upon this, admitted the full right of the Americans to be reinstated, and to be the party in possession while treating of the title; although he

1818. February.

expressed his regret at the manner adopted by the United States to obtain the restitution, which he feared might occasion some difficulty. Mr. Rush assured him that the intentions of the American Government were in every respect amicable, and that particular care had been taken to avoid all cause of ill feeling.

* The Ontario entered the Pacific early in 1818; and it was agreed between the two commissioners, that Captain Biddle should proceed in her to the Columbia, and take possession of the territory, while Mr. Prevost should remain in Chili to attend to some other business. Conformably with this arrangement, Biddle sailed to the Columbia, which he entered in August; and on the 19th of that month he, without any opposition, displayed the flag of the United States, and asserted their claims to the river and the surrounding territory; after which ceremonies, he returned to the South Pacific.

July.

In the mean time Commodore Bowles, commanding the British naval forces in the river of La Plata, received an order from his Government to aid in the surrender of the post on the Columbia to any American officer who might be commissioned to receive it. This order was transmitted, with directions to see it executed, to Captain Sheriff, the senior officer of the British ships in the Pacific, who detached Captain F. Hickey in the frigate Blossom for that purpose; and the latter gentleman, meeting Mr. Prevost at Valparaiso, offered him a passage to the northwest coast, with the object of effecting the proposed transfer. The American commissioner accepted the offer, and embarked in the Blossom in August. On the 1st of October the ship entered the Columbia; and on the 6th, the settlement of Fort George, or Astoria, was surrendered to Mr. Prevost, in due form, by Captain Hickey, and James Keith, the superintendent for the Northwest Company at this place.

That no reservation of rights on the part of Great Britain was made on this occasion, the following copies of the acts of delivery and acceptance, the only documents which passed, will fully show. The act of delivery is as follows:

"In obedience to the commands of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, signified in a despatch from the right honorable the Earl Bathurst, addressed to the partners or agents of the Northwest Company, bearing date the 27th of January, 1818, and in obedience to a subsequent order, dated the 26th of July, from W. H. Sheriff, Esq., captain of his Majesty's ship Andromache, we, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States, through its agent, J. B. Prevost, Esq., the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia River. Given under our hands, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th day of October, 1818.—F. HICKEY, *Captain of his Majesty's ship Blossom.*

J. KEITH, *of the Northwest Company.*"

---

* The following account of the restoration of the settlement at the mouth of the Columbia to the United States, is taken from Mr. Prevost's letter to the Secretary of State, written from Monterey, November 11, 1818, and published with President Monroe's message to Congress of April 17, 1822.

1818. To which Mr. Prevost returned this acceptance:

"I do hereby acknowledge to have this day received, in behalf of the Government of the United States, the possession of the settlement designated above, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent. Given under my hand, in triplicate, at Fort George, (Columbia River,) this 6th of October, 1818.

"J. B. Prevost, *Agent for the United States.*"

It was nevertheless maintained by the British plenipotentiaries at London, in 1826, during the negotiation between their Government and that of the United States relative to the northwest territories—that the restitution of Astoria could not have been demanded as a right by the Americans, agreeably to the treaty of Ghent, because the place was not a national possession, nor a military post, and it was not taken during war; but that, in order to prevent any imputation on the good faith of Great Britain, the most liberal extension had been given to the terms of the treaty; and, in 1818, the purchase which the British company had made in 1813, was restored to the United States; but that particular care was taken, on the occasion of this restitution, to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession. Whether or not Astoria were a *national possession*, according to the rules of civilized nations in general, it is unnecessary to inquire, as there can be no doubt that it was such, agreeably to the principles always supported by Great Britain. In proof of this, nothing more is necessary than to repeat, that the chief cause of the dispute between that Power and Spain, in 1790, was the occupation by Spain of a territory on the northwest coast, which was supposed to have previously become the property of British subjects. Whether the establishment of the Columbia were a *military post*, or not, was of no consequence, as the treaty provided for the restoration of "*all territory, places, and possessions, whatever, taken by either party from the other during the war;*" and that the said establishment was so *taken* by the British from the Americans, has been already sufficiently shown. The flag of the United States was flying over the fort at Astoria, on the 12th of December, 1813, when the British ship Raccoon appeared in the Columbia; and it was hauled down by the commander of that vessel, after the surrender of the place by the chief agent, McDougall. The sale of the effects of the Pacific Fur Company to the British traders, at a moment when an overpowering force was daily expected, cannot be, in justice, regarded in any other light than as a *capitulation*, such as are frequently made during war, for the purpose of preserving lives or property, which might otherwise be destroyed. Circumstances precisely similar might have occurred, if Astoria had been situated in Virginia or Maine; but would the British have been thereby justified in retaining the sovereignty of the place?

In proof of the assertion that particular care had been taken on the occasion of this restitution "to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain," the British plenipotentiaries cited—first, a despatch from Lord Castle-

reagh to the British envoy at Washington, dated February 4, 1818, 1818
in which he says: "You will observe, that whilst this Government is not disposed to contest with the American Government the point of possession, as it stood in the Columbia River, at the moment of the rupture, they are not prepared to admit the validity of the title of the Government of the United States to this settlement. In signifying, therefore, to Mr. Adams the full acquiescence of your Government in the re-occupation of the limited position which the United States held in that river at the breaking out of the war, you will, at the same time, assert in suitable terms the claim of Great Britain to that territory, upon which the American settlement must be considered an encroachment."

The plenipotentiaries add, that "this instruction was executed *verbally* by the person to whom it was addressed;" and they next cite the despatch from Earl Bathurst to the partners or agents of the Northwest Company, mentioned in the act of delivery, of which the following copy is taken from their statement:

"Downing street, *January* 27, 1818.

"Intelligence having been received that the United States sloop of war Ontario has been sent by the American Government to establish a settlement on the Columbia River, which was held by that State on the breaking out of the last war, I am to acquaint you that it is the Prince Regent's pleasure, (without, however, admitting the right of that Government to the possession in question,) that, in pursuance of the first article of the treaty of Ghent, due facility should be given to the re-occupation of the said settlement by the officers of the United States; and I am to desire that you would contribute, as much as lies in your power, to the execution of his Royal Highness's commands. I have, &c. &c.

"Bathurst."

"The above documents," conclude the plenipotentiaries, with reference to the two despatches and the act of delivery, which are simply inserted as above in their statement, without remark, "put the case of the restoration of Fort Astoria in too clear a light to require further observation;" and certainly nothing more appears to be wanting, in order "*to prevent any misapprehension as to the extent of the concession made by Great Britain.*" The only communication received by the American agent on the occasion of the surrender of the post, is explicit: "*We, the undersigned, do, in conformity to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, restore to the Government of the United States the settlement of Fort George, on the Columbia.*" The restoration is made positively and unconditionally, by persons duly commissioned, in obedience to the command of the head of the British nation; and the meaning of this public act cannot be affected by any private communications which the British ministers may have addressed to their own agents. With those private despatches the United States have no concern; and the attempt to represent them as reservations of right on the part of Great Britain to the very territory which she was then restoring to the United States in pursuance of a treaty, is alike at variance with the common sense

1818. and the common morals of the day. No arguments are required to show that, if such reservations were allowable, all engagements would be nugatory, and all faith at an end. With regard to the protest said to have been conveyed *verbally* by the British envoy at Washington to the American Secretary of State, Mr. Gallatin justly observed, in his reply, that "it is not declared how the communication was received, nor whether the Government of the United States consented to accept the restitution with the reservation." It is, moreover, by no means consonant with the customs of civilized nations, at present, to treat *verbally* on points so important as those of territorial sovereignty; or to consider as sufficient, protests and exceptions made in that manner, and adduced long afterwards, without acknowledgment or evidence from the party to which they are said to have been addressed.

Immediately after the completion of this transfer, Mr. Keith, the agent of the factory, presented a letter to Mr. Prevost, containing inquiries—whether the Government of the United States would insist upon the relinquishment of Fort George to any American citizens, before the final decision of the question as to the sovereignty of the territory; and whether, in the event of such decision being in favor of the United States, their Government would indemnify the company for any extension of business, or ameliorations, which might in the *interim* be made. Mr. Prevost, having no instructions on those points, could only reply as he did, to the effect that his Government would doubtless, in any event, satisfy such claims on the part of the Northwest Company as should be justified by the usages of nations.[*]

While these measures for the restitution of Astoria were in progress,[†] a negotiation was carried on at London between the British and American Governments, one of the objects of which was to settle definitively the boundaries west of the Lake of the Woods, left undetermined by the treaty of Ghent. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin, the plenipotentiaries of the United States, proposed that the dividing-line should be drawn from the northwestern extremity of that lake (north or south, as the case might be) to the 49th parallel of latitude, and from the point of intersection westward to the Pacific; it being expressed, that the agreement was intended only for the parties themselves, without reference or prejudice to the claims of any other Power. To this Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, the British commissioners, would consent only in part; and they endeavored to annex the condition, that British subjects should have access to the Mississippi, (the sources of which lie south of the said parallel,) and the liberty of navigating that river to the sea. The Americans having, however, positively refused to subscribe to such a condition, it was not pressed farther; and an article was agreed on, by which the 49th parallel was fixed as the dividing-line, from the Lake of the Woods, or the meridian of its northwest extremity, to the Rocky Mountains. 1818.

---

[*] Agreeably to the plan and description of Fort George, sent by Mr. Prevost to the Department of State, but not published with his letter, the factory consisted (in 1818) of a stockade, enclosing a parallelogram of one hundred and fifty feet by two hundred and fifty feet, extending, in its greatest length, from northwest to southeast. Within this enclosure were all the buildings attached to the establishment, such as dwelling-houses, stores, mechanics' shops, &c. On the fort were mounted two 18-pounders, four 4-pounders, two 6-pound coborns, and seven swivels. The number of persons belonging to the factory, besides a few women and children, was sixty-five; of whom twenty-three were whites, twenty-six Sandwich Islanders, and the remainder persons of mixed blood from Canada.

[†] President Monroe's message of December 28, 1818, and accompanying documents.

The claims of the respective nations to territories bordering on the Pacific were then discussed separately. Messrs. Rush and Gallatin cited, in support of those of the United States, the facts of the discovery of the Columbia, of its first exploration from its source to the ocean, and of the formation of the first establishments in the country through which it flows, by American citizens; they "did not assert that the United States had a perfect right to this country," but they "insisted that their claim was at least good against Great Britain." Messrs. Goulburn and Robinson, on the other hand, affirmed that the discoveries of British navigators, especially those of Cook, and purchases made from the natives south of the Columbia, (when and by whom they did not state,) had given to Great Britain claims in that part of America superior to any which could be deduced from the alleged discoveries and establishments of citizens of the United States; "they made no formal proposition for a boundary, but intimated that the Columbia was the most convenient that could be adopted; and they would agree to none which did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States." As the pretensions of the parties were more fully developed, it became more probable that they would not agree upon any arrangement for the partition of the country west of the Rocky Mountains; and it was at length determined—that all territories claimed by the United States or by Great Britain, between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, should, with their harbors, bays, and rivers, be free and open for ten years to the vessels, subjects, or citizens of both nations; it being, at the same time, expressly understood that the said agreement was not to be construed to affect or prejudice the claims of either party, or of any other Power, to any portion of those territories.* Oct.

This compromise was, perhaps, the wisest which could have been made at the time, considering that neither of the parties had, or pretended to have, a perfect title to any portion of the territories in question, and there was then no probability that an arrangement would be effected respecting those territories between either, and the third or principal claimant, Spain. The convention could not have been considered unfavorable to the United States, as the British Government had previously given orders for the restoration of the important post at the mouth of the Columbia, which had been taken from their citizens during the war. There was every reason to suppose that this post would be immediately

---

* See the second and third articles of the convention of 1818 between the United States and Great Britain, in the Laws and in the Diplomatic Code of the United States; and in the Appendix [F] to this memoir.

1818. re-occupied by those to whom it belonged, and that the power and population of the Americans in the northwest side of the continent would thenceforth be constantly increasing.

With regard to the assertion by the British commissioners of claims of Great Britain, founded on discoveries and purchases of her subjects on the northwest coasts, it is scarcely necessary to repeat, that neither Cook nor any other British navigator discovered any part of those coasts south of the 49th degree of latitude, the Spaniards having explored them all before they were seen by the people of any other civilized nation. Nor does history furnish accounts of any acquisition of territory from the natives in that quarter by British subjects, except in the case of Drake, whose acceptance of the "crown, sceptre, and dignity" of the country about Port San Francisco, in 1579, the commissioners could not have intended to urge seriously, in 1818, as the basis of a claim to the possession of the region drained by the Columbia.

The Government of the United States was, in the same year, engaged in a negotiation with that of Spain, in which the question of territorial limits on the northwest side of America was also discussed. Upon this subject the Spanish minister, Don Luis Jan. 5. de Onis, began by declaring that "the right and dominion of the Crown of Spain to the northwest coast of America, as high as the Californias, is certain and indisputable; the Spaniards having explored it as far as the 47th degree, in the expedition under Juan de Fuca, in 1592, and in that under Admiral Fonté, to the 55th degree, in 1640. The dominion of Spain in these vast regions being thus established, and her rights of discovery, conquest, and possession being never disputed, she could scarcely possess a property founded on more respectable principles, whether of the law of nations, of public law, or of any others which serve as a basis to such acquisitions as compose all the independent kingdoms and states of the earth."* On these assertions, (each of which was calculated to excite a smile,) the American Secretary of State, Mr. J. Q. Adams, who conducted the negotiation on the part of his Government, did not think proper to offer any remarks; and the origin, extent, and value of the claims of Spain to territories in Northwest America, remained unquestioned during the discussion.

This negotiation was soon broken off; it was, however, renewed in October, 1818, after the conclusion of the convention between the United States and Great Britain; and it was termi-

1819. Feb. 22. nated on the 22d of February, 1819, by the signature of a treaty generally called the *Florida Treaty*,† in which the southern and southwestern limits of the United States were definitively fixed. The Spaniards ceded Florida to the Americans, who, at the same time, relinquished all pretensions to the country west of the river Sabine; and it was agreed that a line drawn from the source of the river Arkansas, north or south, as the case might be, to the 42d parallel of latitude, and thence along that parallel westward to the Pacific, should form the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and the southern boundary of those of the United States on the western side of the continent—"his Catholic Majesty ceding to the United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories north of the said line." The American plenipotentiary proposed the 41st parallel as the boundary; but the Spaniards refused to admit it, fearing, no doubt, that a portion of the Rio del Norte, or the Colorado, or of some other river flowing through their dominions, might thus be included within the limits of the United States, whose citizens would not fail in such case to claim the right of navigating the stream to the sea. The most natural and convenient boundary would have been a line drawn along the summits of the *Snowy Mountains*, which extend in a continuous chain from a point in the Rocky Mountains, near the 43d degree of latitude, westward to the Pacific, where they terminate at Cape Mendocino, near the 40th degree.

---

* See message and documents sent by President Monroe to Congress, February 22, 1819.

† See the third article of the Florida Treaty, in the Laws and the Diplomatic Code of the United States, and in the Appendix [F] to this memoir.

Before proceeding farther, it will be proper to inquire into the nature and value of the claims thus ceded by Spain to the United States; for which purpose it will be requisite to look back to the convention of 1790 between the former Power and Great Britain.

On analysing the convention of 1790, it will be found that—

The *first* and *second* articles consist of engagements for the immediate performance of certain specified acts, by one or both of the parties, as the case might require; which acts were duly performed.

The *third* article is a declaration of rights, admitted to be equally possessed by both parties, to navigate and fish in the Pacific and Southern Oceans, and to trade with the natives, or to make settlements on the coasts of those seas in places not previously occupied.

The *fourth, fifth*, and *sixth* articles are devoted to the exposition of certain limitations and restrictions with regard to the exercise of those rights, which the parties mutually consent to observe, for the sake of peace and good understanding between themselves, without reference to any other nation.

The two remaining articles contain engagements respecting the ratification of the agreement, and the mode of proceeding to be observed by each party in case of infraction by the officers of the other.

Nothing is expressed with regard to the *period* during which the stipulations are to remain in force. Whether either of the parties could have withdrawn from them during peace, without a breach of good faith, it is needless here to inquire; but there can be no doubt that the restrictions and limitations would cease on the breaking out of war between the two countries, and that they could not be considered as again in force until after a formal renewal of the engagement. Spain declared war against Great Britain in October, 1796; and, since that period, the only arrangement which has been made between those Powers for the renewal of former agreements is contained in the *first* of the two

1819. additional articles to the treaty of Madrid, of July 5, 1814. That article is as follows: "It is agreed, that during the negotiation of a new treaty of commerce, Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with Spain, upon the same conditions as those which existed previously to 1796; all the treaties of commerce which at that period subsisted between the two nations being hereby ratified and confirmed." That this article related *only to treaties of commerce, and between Great Britain and Spain only*, without reference to the possessions of either party out of Europe, is clear; for, in the first place, no commerce had ever been allowed by treaty, between either party or its colonies and the colonies of the other; and, secondly, another article in the same treaty of Madrid provides, that "in the event of the commerce of the Spanish American colonies being opened to foreign nations, his Catholic Majesty promises that Great Britain shall be admitted to trade with those possessions as the most favored nations." Moreover, that the convention of 1790 should be considered as a commercial treaty between Spain and Great Britain, is impossible, seeing that one of its most clearly expressed objects was to prevent British subjects from carrying on any commerce with the Spanish American dominions.

These considerations appear to be sufficient to show that the convention of 1790 expired in 1796, and that it had not been renewed when Spain ceded to the United States all her rights to territories on the western side of America north of the 42d parallel. The restrictions and limitations which the parties to that convention imposed upon themselves in 1790, therefore, disappeared in 1796; and the rights of each were afterwards to be regulated only according to the general law of nations. Before the convention was concluded, the rights of Spain to the territory drained by the Columbia were undoubtedly stronger, agreeably to the law of nations, than those of any other Power. While the convention subsisted, neither party could acquire absolute sovereignty over any spot in that territory, even by occupation, and no attempt at occupation was made by Great Britain; so that, on the expiration of the convention, the rights of Spain became again stronger than those of any other Power. Between 1796 and 1819, the people of the United States had explored the region of the Columbia, and had established themselves on that river, before any attempt either to explore or to occupy the country had been made by British subjects. The American settlements taken by the British during war had been restored, agreeably to the treaty of peace; and on the 22d of February, 1819, when all the titles of Spain were transferred to the United States, Great Britain possessed no other just claims with regard to the country drained by the Columbia, than those derived from the convention of October previous; while the rights of the Americans were thenceforth founded on the bases of priority of discovery and priority of occupation.

The British Government has, however, positively refused to admit that the convention of 1790 has been abrogated, or that Spain could convey to the United States any other rights than those which were secured to her by that convention. In the *statement* presented by the British plenipotentiaries to the American minister, during the negotiations at London in 1826, it is declared—that all arguments and pretensions on the part of Great Britain or of Spain, whether resting on priority of discovery, or upon any other ground, were definitively set at rest by the convention of 1790, which opened all parts of the northwest coast of America to them both, for all purposes of commerce and settlement, and all the waters to be freely navigated by the vessels and subjects of both—that the rights of Spain having been conveyed to the United States by the Florida treaty, in 1819, the United States necessarily succeeded to the limitations by which those rights were defined, and to the obligations under which they were to be exercised—and that Great Britain could not be expected to release those countries from the obligations and limitations contracted towards herself, merely because the rights of the party originally bound had been transferred to a third Power. In order to sustain these propositions, it was assumed, and attempts were made, as already stated, to prove—that the United States possessed no other claims to the countries in question than those derived from Spain in 1819—that the Americans were not the first to enter the Columbia River,* nor to explore the region through which it flows,† nor to make settlements on its banks—and that the restitution of Astoria was accompanied by an express reservation of the rights of Great Britain to the sovereignty of the surrounding country.‡ 1819.

The Florida treaty was not ratified until nearly two years after its signature by the plenipotentiaries; and before another year had elapsed, the authority of Spain had ceased in every part of America contiguous to the United States. In 1828, a treaty of limits was concluded between the United States and Mexico, by which the line of boundary agreed on with Spain, in 1819, was admitted as separating the territories of the two republics, Mexico taking the place of Spain. The provisions for running and marking the said line have, however, not as yet been complied with by the Mexican Government.

In December, 1820, after the ratification of the Florida treaty, a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives in the Congress of the United States, on the motion of Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, "that an inquiry should be made as to the situation of the settlements on the Pacific Ocean, and as to the expediency of occupying the Columbia River." The committee to which this resolution was referred, presented a long Report, drawn up by Mr. Floyd, containing a sketch of the history of colonization in America, an account of the fur trade in the northern and northwestern sections of the continent, and a description of the country claimed by the United States in those directions; from all which are drawn the conclusions—that the whole territory of America bordering upon the Pacific from the 41st degree of latitude to the 1820. Dec. 19. 1821. Jan. 20.

---

* See page 138. † See page 153. ‡ See page 166.

1821. 53d, if not to the 60th, belonged of right to the United States, in virtue of the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, of the late acquisition of the Spanish titles, and of the discoveries and settlements of American citizens—that the trade of those countries in furs and other articles, and the fisheries on their coasts, might be rendered highly productive—and that these advantages might be secured to citizens of the United States exclusively, by establishing "small trading-guards" on the most northeastern point of the Missouri, and at the mouth of the Columbia, and favoring emigration to the country west of the Rocky Mountains, not only from the United States, but also from China. The committee thereupon reported "a bill for the occupation of the Columbia, and the regulation of the trade with the Indians in the territories of the United States."

Without making any remarks upon the contents of this Report, it may be observed with regard to the bill, that its terms are directly at variance with the provisions of the third article of the convention of October, 1818, between the United States and Great Britain; inasmuch as the Columbia could not possibly be *free and open to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of both these nations*, if it were *occupied* by either. The bill was suffered to lie on the table of the House of Representatives during the remainder of the session. The subject was again brought before Congress in the ensuing year, and an estimate was obtained from the Navy Commissioners of the expense of transporting cannon, ammunition, and stores to the Columbia; but no further action was taken on the matter, either in that or the next session of the Legislature of the Union.

In the mean time, important measures with respect to the northwest territories of America had been adopted and enforced by the British and the Russian Governments.

The enmity subsisting between the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest Companies was for many years displayed only in words, or in the commission of trifling injuries by each party against the other. At length, however, in 1814, a regular war broke out, and was for some time openly carried on between them. The scene of the hostilities was the territory on the Red River, contiguous to the frontiers of the United States, in which a colony of Scotch highlanders was established in 1812, by Lord Selkirk, in virtue of a grant of the country from the Hudson's Bay Company. The validity of that grant was denied by the Northwest Company, to which the colony had proved injurious, as the supplies of provisions for the use of the northwest posts had been before obtained almost wholly from the Red River lands. The consequences were disputes and various acts of violence, until, finally, in 1814, the Scotchmen were driven away, and their houses were destroyed by their opponents. The colony was re-established in the following year; after which, the hostilities were renewed, posts were taken and burnt by each party, and on the 19th of June, 1816, a battle was fought, in which the Scotchmen were routed; their governor, Mr. Semple, and seventeen of his followers, being killed.

These affairs were brought before the British Parliament in June, 1819; and two years afterwards, a compromise was effected between the rival companies, through the intervention of the Colonial Department, by which they were united into one body, under the name of the *Hudson's Bay Company;* an Act being at the same time, and in connexion with the arrangement, passed by Parliament, on the authority of which the trade of all the Indian territories in northern America owned or claimed by Great Britain was granted exclusively to that company for twenty-one years. 1821.

By this act, "for regulating the fur trade, and establishing a criminal and civil jurisdiction in certain parts of North America," the King was authorized to make grants, or give "licenses to any body corporate, company, or person, for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in all parts of North America, not being parts of the territories heretofore granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, or of any of his Majesty's provinces, or of territories belonging to the United States;" it being, however, provided—that no such grant or license was to be given for a longer period than twenty-one years—that no grant or license of exclusive trade in the part of America west of the Rocky Mountains, which was, by the convention of 1818 with the United States, to remain free and open to the citizens or subjects of both nations, should be used to the prejudice or exclusion of any citizens of the United States engaged in such trade—and that no British subject should trade in the said territories west of the Rocky Mountains, without such license or grant. Courts of judicature established in Upper Canada were empowered to take cognizance of all causes within the above described parts of America, as also within those belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company; and justices of the peace, or persons specially commissioned for the purpose, were to determine causes, and to execute and enforce the orders and judgments of the aforesaid courts, in different parts of those regions; they being also authorized to commit to custody, and to convey to Upper Canada for trial, any person refusing to obey such orders and judgments. The justices of the peace might likewise be empowered to hold courts in the Indian countries, for trial of minor offences and of civil causes in which the amount in issue should not exceed two hundred pounds. July 2.

Immediately after the passage of this act, the coalition of the two companies took place; and the Hudson's Bay Company received grants for exclusive trade in all the territories north of Canada, and of the United States, not already belonging to it, as also in those west of the Rocky Mountains, under the conditions expressed in the act. Persons in the service of the company were likewise commissioned as justices of the peace, and the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada was rendered effective as far as the shores of the Pacific; no exception in that respect being made by the terms of the act, with regard to any of the territories in which licenses for trade could be granted. August.

The Russians were at the same period endeavoring to extend their dominion over the coasts of the north Pacific, by means more arbitrary, though less effective, as the result proved.

1821. On the 8th of July, 1819, the charter of the Russian-American Company was renewed for twenty years, by the Emperor Alexander; and on the 4th of September, 1821, an imperial *ukase*, or edict, was issued at Saint Petersburgh, by which the whole west coast of America north of the 51st parallel, and the whole east coast of Asia north of the latitude of 45 degrees 50 minutes, and all the adjacent and intervening islands, were declared to belong exclusively to Russia; foreigners being prohibited, under heavy penalties, from approaching within a hundred miles of any of those territories, except in cases of extreme necessity.

1822. This *ukase* was communicated to the Government of the United
Feb. 11. States by the Chevalier de Poletica, Russian envoy at Washington, between whom and Mr. J. Q. Adams, the American Secretary of State, a correspondence took place on the subject. Mr.
Feb. 25. Adams began by expressing the astonishment of the President at these claims and assumptions of the Russian Government, and desired to know upon what circumstances they were founded.
Feb. 28. To this the envoy replied by a long communication, containing a sketch (generally erroneous) of the discoveries of his countrymen on the northwest coast of America, which he insisted to have extended southward as far as the 49th degree of latitude; he defended the assumption of the 55th parallel as the southern limit of the possessions of his Sovereign, upon the ground that this line was midway between the mouth of the Columbia, where the Americans had formed a settlement, and New Archangel, the most southern Russian establishment; and he finally maintained that his Government would be justifiable in exercising the rights of sovereignty over the whole of the Pacific north of the said parallel, inasmuch as that section of the sea was bounded on both sides by Russian territories, and was thus in fact a *close sea*.
Mar. 30. The Secretary of State, in return, asserted that "from the period of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, their vessels had freely navigated those seas; and the right to navigate them was a part of that independence, as also the right of their citizens to trade, even in arms and munitions of war, with the aboriginal natives of the northwest coast of America, who were not under the territorial jurisdiction of other nations." He denied *in toto* the claim of the Russians to any part of America south of the 55th degree of latitude, on the ground that this parallel was declared in the charter* of the Russian-American

---

* The first article of the charter or privileges granted by the Emperor Paul to the Russian-American Company, on the 8th of July, 1799, is as follows:

"In virtue of the discovery by Russian navigators of a part of the coast of America in the northeast, beginning from the 55th degree of latitude, and of chains of islands extending from Kamschatka, northward towards America, and southward towards Japan, Russia has acquired the right of possessing those lands; and the said company is authorized to enjoy all the advantages of industry, and all the establishments upon the said coast of America in the northeast, from the 55th degree of latitude to Beering's Strait, and beyond it, as also upon the Aleutian and Kurile Islands, and the others situated in the eastern Arctic Ocean."

By the second article—

"The company may make new discoveries, not only north, but also south of the said 55th parallel of latitude; and may occupy and bring under the dominion of Russia all territories thus discovered; observing the rule, that such territories should not have been previously occupied and placed under subjection by another nation."

Company to be the southern limit of the discoveries of the Russians in 1799, since which period they had made no discoveries or establishments south of the said line, on the coast now claimed by them. With regard to the suggestion that the Russian Government might justly exercise sovereignty over the Pacific Ocean *as a close sea*, because it claims territories both on the Asiatic and the American shores, Mr. Adams merely observed, that the distance between those shores, on the parallel of 51 degrees north, is *four thousand miles;* and he concluded by expressing the persuasion of the President that the citizens of the United States would remain unmolested in the prosecution of their lawful commerce, and that no effect would be given to a prohibition manifestly incompatible with their rights. M. de Poletica, a few days after the receipt of Mr. Adams's second note, sent another communication respecting the rights of his Sovereign, in which he advanced "the authentic fact, that in 1789, the Spanish packet Saint Charles, commanded by Captain Haro, found, in the latitude of *forty-eight and forty-nine degrees*, Russian establishments to the number of eight, consisting, in the whole, of twenty families and four hundred and sixty-two individuals, who were the descendants of the companions of Captain Tschirikof, supposed until then to have perished." It is scarcely necessary to occupy time in exposing the erroneousness of this "*authentic fact.*" Martinez and Haro did, indeed, find Russian establishments on the American coast of the north Pacific in 1788; but they were all situated in the latitudes of *fifty-eight and fifty-nine degrees;* and the individuals inhabiting them had been, a short time previous, transported thither from Kamschatka and the Aleutian Islands, by Shellikof, the founder of the Russian-American Company.[*]

1822. Mar. 30.

April 2.

The prohibitory edict of the Russian Emperor, and the correspondence relating to it, were submitted to the Congress of the United States in April, 1822; and in the course of the ensuing year a negotiation was begun at Saint Petersburgh, with the object of arranging amicably the rights and interests of the respective parties on the northwest side of America. Another negotiation with regard to that part of the world was also, at the same time and place, in progress between the plenipotentiaries of Russia and Great Britain; the latter Power having protested formally against the claims and principles set forth in the *ukase*, immediately on its appearance, and afterwards at Verona, whilst the Congress of Sovereigns was held there.[†] Under these circumstances, the Government of the United States became anxious that a joint convention should be concluded between the three nations having claims to the territories in question; and the envoys of the Republic at London and Saint Petersburgh were therefore instructed to propose an agreement, to the effect—that no

1823.

---

[*] See page 96. Fleurieu, in his Introduction to Marchand's Journal, mentions the rumor that Haro had found Russian settlements in 1788, between the 48th and 49th degrees; *but he at the same time exposes the error.*

[†] Debate in Parliament on the inquiry made by Sir J. Mackintosh, May 26, 1823.

1823. settlement should be made on the northwest coast, or the adjacent islands, during the next ten years, by Russians, south of the latitude of 55 degrees; or by citizens of the United States north of the latitude of 51 degrees; or by British subjects either south of the 51st, or north of the 55th parallels.

The proposition for a joint convention was not accepted by either of the Governments to which it was addressed, partly in consequence of a clause in the annual message sent by President Monroe to Congress, in December, 1823, stating—that in the discussions and arrangements relative to the northwest coast then going on, "the occasion had been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the *free* and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European Power." This principle (which it would, perhaps, have been more politic to keep *in petto* than to assert openly) the British and Russian Governments each refused to admit; and there being many other points on which it was not probable that the three parties could ever agree, it was considered preferable that the negotiations should be carried on separately, as they had been, at London and at Saint Petersburgh.

Another publication, on the part of the American Government, soon after contributed to render more difficult the settlement of the question of boundaries on the Pacific between the United States and Great Britain.

Dec. 29. A select committee was appointed by the House of Representatives of the United States, in December, 1823, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of occupying the mouth of the Columbia. This committee, in the course of its duties, requested General Thomas S. Jesup, the Quartermaster General of the army, to communicate his opinions respecting the propriety of the measure proposed, as well as its practicability and the best method of executing it; in reply to which, the General sent a
1824. letter containing an exposition of his views of the true policy of the United States with regard to the northwest coasts and territories of America, and of the means by which they might be carried into effect. Leaving aside the question as to the rights of the United States, he considered the possession and military command of the Columbia and of the upper Missouri necessary for the protection, not only of the fur trade, but also of the whole western frontier of the republic, which is everywhere in contact with numerous, powerful, and warlike tribes of savages; and, for this purpose, he recommended the immediate despatch of two hundred men across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia, while two merchant vessels should transport thither the cannon, ammunition, materials, and stores requisite for the first establishment; after which, four or five intermediate posts should be formed at points between Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, (the most western spot then occupied by American troops,) and the Pacific. By such means, says the letter, "present protection would be afforded to our traders, and, on the ex-

1824.

piration of the privilege granted to British subjects to trade on the waters of the Columbia, we should be enabled to remove them from our territory, and to secure the whole trade to our own citizens."

July.

The report, to which this letter was annexed, was ordered to lie on the table of the House; and nothing more was done on the subject during that session. The papers, however, were published, and they immediately attracted the attention of the British ministry. In a conference held at London in July following, between the American envoy, Mr. Rush, and the British commissioners, Messrs. Huskisson and Stratford Canning, the latter gentlemen commented upon the observations of General Jesup, particularly upon those respecting the removal of British traders from the territories of the Columbia, which they said "were calculated to put Great Britain especially upon her guard, appearing as they did at a moment when a friendly negotiation was pending between the two Powers for the adjustment of their relative and conflicting claims to that entire district of country." From the accounts of Mr. Rush, and those given subsequently by Mr. Gallatin, there is no doubt that the publication of General Jesup's letter, and the declaration in President Monroe's message against the establishment of European colonies in America, rendered the British Government much more indisposed to any concession, with regard to the northwest territories, than it would otherwise have been.

The negotiation mentioned in the preceding paragraph was not long continued; the parties being so entirely at variance with regard to facts as well as principles, that the impossibility of effecting any arrangement soon became evident to the plenipotentiaries on both sides. Mr. Rush cited the discoveries of the Spaniards on the northwest coasts of America, to the benefit of which he maintained that the United States were entitled in virtue of the Florida treaty; and also the discovery of the Columbia by Gray, as endowing his nation with the strongest rights to the possession of the territories drained by that river; and he insisted, agreeably to express instructions from his Government, "that no part of the American continent was henceforth to be open to colonization from Europe." The British commissioners, on the other hand, doubted the truth of many of the circumstances related with regard to the Spanish expeditions in the north Pacific, and alleged, as more authentic, the accounts of the voyage of Drake, from which it appeared that he had in 1579 explored the west coast of America to the 48th parallel of latitude, five or six degrees farther north than the Spaniards pretended to have advanced before that period. They refused "to admit that the mere fact of Spanish navigators having first seen the coast at particular points, even where this was capable of being substantiated, without any subsequent or efficient acts of sovereignty or settlement, should exclude all other nations from that portion of the globe." They also denied that the circumstance of an American merchant vessel having penetrated the coast of the continent at the Columbia River could confer on the United States any claim

1824. along the same coast, which had been discovered and explored by Great Britain herself, in expeditions fitted out under the authority and with the resources of the nation. Finally, they declared "that the claim of the United States respecting the territory watered by the Columbia and its tributaries, as set forth by Mr. Rush, besides being essentially objectionable in its general bearing, had the effect of interfering directly with the actual rights of Great Britain, derived from use, occupancy, and settlement; and that they considered the unoccupied parts of America open, as heretofore, to colonization by Great Britain, or by other European Powers, agreeably to the convention of 1790," which they contended had become a part of the universal law of nations.

June 29. After much discussion on these points, Mr. Rush presented, on the part of his Government, a proposal—that any country west of the Rocky Mountains, which might be claimed by either nation, should, with the navigation of all its waters, be free and open to both nations for ten years; provided that, during the said period, no settlements were to be made by British subjects south of the 51st degree of latitude, or by American citizens north of that parallel. To this proposal, which Mr. Rush afterwards varied by substituting the 49th degree for the 51st, Messrs. Huskisson and Canning replied, definitively, by a counter-project,
July 13. to the effect—that the boundary between the territories of Great Britain and those of the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, should be a line drawn from those mountains westward, along the 49th parallel, to the nearest head-waters of the Columbia, and thence down the middle of the stream to its termination in the Pacific; the British possessing the country north and west of such line, and the Americans that on the other side; provided, that the citizens or subjects of both nations should be at liberty, during the next ten years, to pass by land or by water through all the territories, and to retain and use their establishments already formed in any part of them. Immediately after the presentation of this counter-project, the negotiation respecting the northwest territories of America was suspended, and it was not renewed until November, 1826.*

In the mean time the negotiation in progress at St. Petersburgh, between the Russian and the American Governments, was terminated by a convention, signed on the 17th of April, 1824, of which the following is the substance: The citizens or subjects of the two nations are not to be disturbed or restrained in navigating any part of the Pacific, or in resorting to its coasts for the purpose of fishing or of trading with the natives, in places not already occupied; *provided*, that citizens of the United States are not to resort to any Russian establishment, nor Russian subjects to any American establishment, on the northwest coasts of America, without permission from the governor or commander of such place. No establishment is in future to be formed upon the northwest coasts of America, or the adjacent islands, by citizens of the United States, north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, nor by Russians, or under the authority of Russia, south of that latitude. The citizens or subjects of both nations may, during the next ten years, frequent the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks upon the said coasts, for the purposes of fishing or of trading with the natives. The two Powers, nevertheless, engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor to suffer their citizens or subjects to sell, to the natives on the said coasts, any arms, powder, munitions of war, or spirituous liquors; *provided*, that this restriction is not to be regarded as affording a pretext for the search or detention of vessels engaged in trading, or for the seizure of the articles, or for any measure of restraint against the merchants or their crews; the parties respectively reserving to themselves the right of determining upon the penalties, and of inflicting the punishments, in cases of contravention of this prohibition by their citizens or subjects.* 1824.

---

* Documents accompanying the *President's message* of January 31, 1826.

Thus was the *ukase* of September, 1821, virtually annulled, so far as regarded American citizens, against whom it had been enforced in one instance only. The brig Pearl, of Boston, was turned away from Sitca in October, 1822; her owners, however, were, after the conclusion of the convention, indemnified for their injuries by the Russian Government. It may be here stated, that the stipulation respecting the trade and fishery in the interior waters on the northwest side of America has not been renewed; the other engagements continue in force, unchanged.

On the 28th of February, 1825, a convention, relative to the northwest coast of America and the adjacent seas, was also concluded between the Governments of Russia and Great Britain.† Its provisions concerning the navigation of the Pacific, and the trade with the natives of the American coasts, were nearly identical with those agreed on between the United States and Russia, in the preceding year; it is, however, much more particular and definite as regards territorial limits. "The line of demarcation between the possessions of the parties upon the coasts of the continent and the islands of America, in the northwest," is made to commence from the southernmost point of Prince of Wales's Island, in the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, and to run eastward to the Portland Channel, which it ascends to the 56th degree of latitude; thence it follows the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of longitude west from Greenwich, (passing through the west side of Mount Saint Elias,) and continues along that meridian, northward, to the Arctic Ocean; but, wherever the said summit of the mountains is more than ten leagues from the sea, the boundary runs parallel to the coast at the distance of ten leagues from it. The Russians are never to form an establishment south or east of this line, nor are the British to form any on the other side of it; but the British are 1825. Feb. 28.

---

* Appendix [F] to this memoir. By the act of Congress of May 19, 1828, any American citizen contravening this prohibition becomes liable to fine and imprisonment.

† Hertslet's British Treaties, vol. iii, page 362; and appendix [F] to this memoir.

1825. to enjoy forever the right of navigating all streams, which may cross the said boundary in their course from the interior of the continent to the sea. The navigation of the inland seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks on the coasts, for the purposes of fishing or of trading with the natives, is left free to both parties for ten years, under restrictions similar to those set forth in the convention between Russia and the United States; and the port of Sitca, or New Archangel, is opened to British subjects during the same period. These provisions were not renewed at the expiration of the ten years; all the other stipulations still remain in force.

In these two conventions the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, separately and independently, yet equally and clearly, though implicitly, recognise the exclusive privilege of Russia to occupy all the coasts and islands of the Pacific side of America, north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, and to exercise sovereignty over the places thus occupied, *but without acknowledging her absolute and entire possession of all that part of America.* With regard to the territories extending southward from the said parallel, in which the Russians are to make no establishment, the right of occupation is claimed by both the other Powers; indirectly by the United States, but distinctly and to the exclusion of all other nations by Great Britain.

In December, 1824, President Monroe, by his last annual message to Congress, advised the immediate establishment of a military post at the mouth of the Columbia, and also the despatch of a frigate for the survey of the coasts contiguous to that point, and for the protection of American interests in the north Pacific. The same measures were in the following year recommended by President Adams, among the various plans for the advantage of the United States, and of the world in general, to which he directed the attention of the Federal Legislature, at the commencement of its session. In compliance with this recommendation, a committee was appointed by the House of Representatives, the chairman of which (Mr. Baylies) submitted two reports, containing numerous details respecting—the history of discovery and trade in Northwest America; the geography, soil, climate, and productions of the portion claimed by the United States; the number and value of the furs procured in it; the expenses of surveying its coasts, and of forming military establishments for its occupation; and many other points connected with those matters: and he concluded by bringing in a bill for the immediate execution of the measures proposed by the President.* This bill was laid on the table of the House, and the subject was not again agitated in Congress until two years afterwards; little or no interest respecting the northwest territories of America was in fact then felt by citizens of the United States, either in or out of Congress. 1826.

By this time, the period of ten years, during which the countries claimed by Great Britain, or by the United States, west of the Rocky Mountains, were to remain free and open to the people of both nations, was drawing to a close; and it was desirable that some definitive arrangement respecting those countries should, 1826. if possible, be made between the two Governments, before the expiration of that term. With this object, a negotiation was commenced at London; or, rather, the negotiation which had been broken off in 1824, was renewed in November, 1826; Mr. Albert Gallatin representing the interests of the United States, and Messrs. Huskisson and Addington those of Great Britain.

---

* See reports of the House of Representatives, 1st session of the 19th Congress.

Before entering upon the details of this negotiation, it should be observed, that the difficulty of effecting a satisfactory arrangement for the partition of the disputed territories had been materially increased since 1818, in consequence of the great inequality which had been produced in the relative positions of the two parties, as regards actual occupation by their respective citizens or subjects. In 1826 the British were enjoying, almost exclusively, the use and control of the whole country beyond the Rocky Mountains, north of the mouth of the Columbia. The union of the two rival companies in 1821, and the establishment of civil and criminal jurisdiction throughout the division of America allotted to them, proved very advantageous to Great Britain, politically as well as commercially. The Hudson's Bay Company became at once a powerful body; its resources were no longer wasted in disputes with a rival association; its regulations were enforced; its operations were conducted with security and efficiency; and encouragement was afforded for the extension of its posts and communications, by the assurance that the honor of the Government was thereby more strongly engaged in its support. Many of these posts were fortified, and could be defended by their inmates—men inured to dangers and hardships of all kinds—against any attacks which might be apprehended; and thus, in the course of a few years, the whole region north and northwest of the United States, from Hudson's Bay and Canada to the Pacific, particularly the portion traversed by the Columbia and its branches, was *occupied*, in a military sense, by British forces, although there was not a single British soldier, strictly speaking, within its limits.

The United States, on the other hand, possessed no establishments, and exercised no authority or jurisdiction whatsoever, beyond the Rocky Mountains; and the number of their citizens in that whole territory did not probably exceed two hundred. This, however, is not to be attributed to want of enterprise in the Americans, but simply to the fact that they had already at their disposal much finer countries in their immediate vicinity.

Under such circumstances were the negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, relative to these territories, renewed at London in November, 1826. The Novemb. British plenipotentiaries began by declaring the readiness of their Government to abide by its offer, made in 1824—to admit the Columbia as the line of separation between the territories of the two nations, west of the Rocky Mountains, securing to the United States all that lies east of that river, and south of the 49th parallel of latitude. To this offer Mr. Gallatin gave a decided negative; and then repeated the proposition which had been submitted by

1826. himself and Mr. Rush in 1818, for the adoption of the 49th parallel as the boundary from the mountains to the Pacific; with the additions—that if the said line should cross any of the branches of the Columbia at points from which they are navigable by boats to the main stream, the navigation of such branches, and of the main stream, should be perpetually free and common to the people of both nations; that the citizens or subjects of neither party should thenceforward make any settlements in the territories of the other; but that all settlements already formed by the people of either nation within the limits of the other, might be occupied and used by them for ten years, and no longer; during which, all the remaining provisions of the existing convention should continue in force. Dec. 1, This proposition was in like manner rejected by the British, who then expressed their willingness, in addition to their first offer, to yield to the United States a detached territory north of the Columbia, in the angle formed by the Pacific coast and the south side of the Strait of Fuca, embracing Port Discovery and Bulfinch's Harbor. Mr. Gallatin refused his assent to this, or any other arrangement giving to Great Britain the possession of territory south of the 49th parallel; and the negotiators, having no expectation of effecting a partition of the country in dispute, directed their attention solely to the subject of the continuance of the joint occupancy of the whole region.

Dec. 16. For that object, the British proposed that the arrangement actually subsisting should be renewed and prolonged for fifteen years, with the provisions that neither Power should assume or exercise any right of sovereignty or dominion over any part of the country during that period; and that no settlement then existing, or which might in future be formed, should ever be adduced by either party in support or furtherance of such claims of sovereignty or dominion. This proposition was taken by Mr. Gallatin for reference to his Government; and the discussions were in consequence suspended until May of the following year.

1827. The President of the United States refused to agree to any modification of the terms of the joint occupancy; and Mr. Gallatin was at the same time instructed to declare, that *the American Government did not hold itself bound hereafter, in consequence of any proposal which it had made, for a line of separation between the territories of the two nations beyond the Rocky Mountains; but would consider itself at liberty to contend for the full extent of the claims of the United States.* The British commissioners made a similar declaration with regard to the proposals which had been advanced on the part of their Government; and intimated their readiness to agree to a simple renewal of the existing arrangement, provided an article were appended, explanatory of what they considered to be its true meaning and bearing. Mr. Gallatin was unable to assent to any addition, of that or any other nature; and Aug. 6. at length, on the 6th of August, a convention* was signed, to the effect—that all the provisions of the third article of the convention of October, 1818, should be further indefinitely continued in force; either party being, however, at liberty, after the 20th of October, 1828, to annul and abrogate the engagement, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other. This agreement still remains in force, notwithstanding the many efforts which have been made in the Congress of the United States to procure its abrogation. 1827.

---

* Convention of 1827 between the United States and Great Britain, in the Appendix [F] to this memoir.

In the course of this negotiation, the claims of the respective parties to the territories were fully set forth, and thoroughly examined, not only in conferences between the plenipotentiaries, but also in written *statements*,* submitted on each side. To review all the assumptions and arguments thus advanced, in detail, would be superfluous, as they have been kept in mind throughout this memoir; it will be proper, however, to present a summary of them, with remarks on points not already noticed, as the best means of showing the positions assumed by each Government at that time.

Mr. Gallatin claimed for the United States the possession of the country west of the Rocky Mountains, between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, upon the grounds of—

The first discovery of the Columbia, by Gray; the first exploration of the territory through which that river flows, by Lewis and Clarke; and the establishment of the first posts and settlements in the said territory, by citizens of the United States:

The virtual recognition by the British Government of the title of the United States, in the restitution of the post near the mouth of the Columbia, agreeably to the first article of the treaty of Ghent, without any reservation or exception whatsoever:

The acquisition by the United States of all the titles of Spain, which titles were derived from the discovery and exploration of the coasts of the region in question, by Spanish subjects, before they had been seen by the people of any other civilized nation:

And, lastly, upon the ground of *contiguity*, which should give to the United States a stronger right to those territories than could be advanced by any other Power. "If," said Mr. Gallatin, "a few trading factories on the shores of Hudson's Bay have been considered by Great Britain as giving an exclusive right of occupancy as far as the Rocky Mountains—if the infant settlements on the more southern Atlantic shores justified a claim thence to the South Seas, and which was actually enforced to the Mississippi—that of the millions of American citizens already within reach of those seas, cannot consistently be rejected. It will not be denied, that the extent of contiguous country to which an actual settlement gives a prior right, must depend, in a considerable degree, on the magnitude and population of that settlement, and on the facility with which the vacant adjacent land may, within a short time, be occupied, settled, and cultivated by such population, compared with the probability of its being occupied and settled from any other quarter. This doctrine was admitted to its fullest extent by Great Britain, as appeared by all her char-

---

* Document of the House of Representatives, 20th Congress, 1st session, No. 199.

1827. ters, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, given to colonies established then only on the borders of the Atlantic. How much more natural and stronger the claim, when made by a nation whose population extended to the central parts of the continent, and whose dominions were by all acknowledged to extend to the Rocky Mountains."

The British plenipotentiaries, on the other hand, endeavored to prove, as already stated—

That the Columbia was not discovered by Gray, who had only entered the bay at its mouth, discovered four years previous by Lieutenant Meares, of the British navy:*

That the exploration of the interior of the country of the Columbia by Lewis and Clarke, could not be cited by the United States as strengthening and confirming their claim to that territory, because, "*if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years,* the British Northwest Company had, by means of their agent, Mr. Thompson, already established their posts on the head-waters or main branch of the Columbia:"†

That the restitution of Astoria in 1818 was accompanied by express reservations of the right of Great Britain to the territory on which that settlement was declared to be an encroachment:‡

That the titles to the territories in question, derived by the United States from Spain, through the Florida Treaty, amounted to nothing more than the rights secured to Spain equally with Great Britain, by the convention|| of 1790, namely, to settle on any part of those countries, to navigate and fish in their waters, and to trade with their natives. Whether Louisiana extended to the Pacific, or not, was of no consequence, inasmuch as it was a Spanish possession in 1790; and if a portion of it bordered upon the Pacific, such portion was, of course, included in the stipulations of the convention signed in that year:

That the charters granted by British Sovereigns to colonies on the Atlantic coasts, were nothing more than cessions to the grantees, of whatever rights the grantor might consider himself to possess, and could not be regarded as binding on the subjects of any other nation, or as part of the law of nations, until they had been confirmed by treaties; had the Government of the United States thought fit, in 1790, to grant by charter to Mr. Gray the whole territory bordering upon the Columbia, such charter would have been valid against all other citizens of the United States; but it would not have been recognised either by Great Britain or by Spain, as those Powers were in that year preparing to contest by arms the possession of the very territory which would have formed the subject of the grant. [With regard to these latter assertions, whatever may have been the ideas of British Sovereigns as to the extent of their rights in North America, certain

---

* The entire groundlessness of these assertions may be seen by reference to pages 93 and 158.

† At page 153, explanations are given with regard to the just value of the words here quoted from the *statement* of the British plenipotentiaries.

‡ See page 165.

|| For a review of the convention of 1790, and inquiries as to its bearing upon this question, see page 171.

it is, that *the charters granted by them to colonies on the Atlantic coast were considered by the British Government as valid, and were enforced against the subjects of other nations*, on various occasions, between 1606 and 1763. In proof of this, may be cited the charters granted to the Virginia Company by King James I, in 1609 and 1611; in virtue of which, the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, in a country first discovered, explored, and settled under the flag of the United Provinces, were, in 1664, during a period of profound peace between the two nations, seized by British forces, as being included within the territories granted to the Virginia Company. In like manner, the settlements made by British subjects, under a British charter, on the Ohio, in a country first discovered, explored, and occupied by the French, were sustained by the British Government; and the disputes on account of those settlements are well known to have been among the principal causes of the war of 1755 between those Powers. These facts are here cited, not in vindication of the justice of such charters, but merely in order to show in what light they have been hitherto really regarded by the British Government. In this, as in all the other points of the controversy, it will be seen that the arguments of the commissioners were founded upon the views of natural right, or of the principles of international law, which their Government chose to adopt and recognise at the moment, without reference to precedent.] 1827.

Messrs. Huskisson and Addington, in conclusion, presented the following summary of the pretensions of their Government, which may be considered as definitively indicating its views and proposed course with regard to Northwest America:

"Great Britain claims no exclusive sovereignty over any portion of the territory on the Pacific between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude; her present claim, not in respect to any part, but to the whole, is limited to a right of joint occupancy in common with other states, leaving the right of exclusive dominion *in abeyance;* and her pretensions tend to the mere maintenance of her own rights, in resistance to the exclusive character of the pretensions of the United States.

"The rights of Great Britain are recorded and defined in the convention of 1790; they embrace the right to navigate the waters of those countries, to settle in and over any part of them, and to trade with the inhabitants and occupiers of the same. These rights have been peaceably exercised ever since the date of that convention; that is, for a period of nearly forty years. Under that convention, valuable British interests have grown up in those countries. It is admitted that the United States possess the same rights, although they have been exercised by them only in a single instance, and have not, since the year 1813, been exercised at all; but beyond those rights, they possess none.

"In the interior of the territory in question, the subjects of Great Britain have had for many years numerous settlements and trading-posts; several of these posts are on the tributary streams of the Columbia; several upon the Columbia itself; some to the northward, and others to the southward of that river. And they

1827. navigate the Columbia as the sole channel for the conveyance of their produce to the British stations nearest the sea, and for the shipment of it from thence to Great Britain; it is also by the Columbia and its tributary streams that these posts and settlements received their annual supplies from Great Britain.

"To the interests and establishments which British industry and enterprise have created, Great Britain owes protection; that protection will be given, both as regards settlement, and freedom of trade and navigation, with every attention not to infringe the co-ordinate rights of the United States; it being the desire of the British Government, *so long as the joint occupancy continues*, to regulate its own obligations by the same rules which govern the obligations of every other occupying party."

These concluding declarations of the British commissioners are sufficiently explicit. When taken in connexion with the reasonings which precede them, they show clearly that all farther attempts on the part of the United States to establish the justice of their claims by negotiation with Great Britain should be deferred until the two parties are more nearly equal as regards the power of enforcing their respective determinations.

The new convention was submitted by President Adams to the Senate of the United States in the winter of 1827, and, having been approved, was immediately ratified; since which, no communication whatsoever, on subjects connected with the northwest coasts of America, has passed between the Government of the Republic and that of Great Britain.

1828. The documents relative to the negotiation were laid before the House of Representatives at Washington in the spring of 1828, and were published by its order. In the ensuing session the subject of the occupation of the mouth of the Columbia was again brought before that House, and, after a long series of debates,

1829. Jan. 7. a bill was reported, authorizing the President to erect forts beyond the Rocky Mountains, and to cause those territories to be explored; and providing for the punishment of offences committed there by American citizens. This bill was rejected on the

1831. January. 23d of December. In January, 1831, President Jackson, in reply to a call for information, sent to the Senate a report from the Secretary of War, relative to the *British establishments on the Columbia, and the state of the fur trade*, containing several interesting communications from persons engaged in that business, or acquainted with it; but no action was taken on the subject, and very little attention was given in either House to matters concerning the countries in question until 1838.

1834. Before that year, the Government of the United States had been engaged in another discussion with that of Russia, respecting the northwest coasts. It will be remembered, that by the convention of 1824 it was understood that, during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the convention, the ships of both Powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, might reciprocally frequent, without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country. The period during which this right was to be exercised by both parties expired in April, 1834, and immediately afterwards two American vessels were ordered by Baron Wrangel, the governor of the Russian settlements in America, to cease their trade on the coasts north of the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes. The Russian minister at Washington, about the same time, gave notice of the expiration of this agreement to Mr. Forsyth, the Secretary of State of the United States,* suggesting to him, also, the propriety of communicating the fact officially to the citizens of the Republic. Mr. Forsyth, in his answer, expressed a wish to know whether a proposition for the continuance of the arrangement would be favorably received at Saint Petersburgh; and the Russian minister being unable to answer the question, the representative of the United States near the Imperial Government was instructed to propose formally the renewal of the stipulations for an indefinite period. In the mean time, however, a notice of the expiration of the agreement, and of the order given by Baron Wrangel, was published in the newspapers of the United States.† 1834.

1837. Nov. 3. The reasoning of Mr. Forsyth on this question, as presented in his letter of instruction to Mr. Dallas, the envoy of the United States at Saint Petersburgh, can scarcely be abridged without materially impairing its strength. Mr. Forsyth, after repeating the cardinal rule as to the construction of instruments of every kind, namely—*that they should be so construed, if possible, as that every part may stand*—maintains that the fourth article of the convention cannot "be understood as implying an acknowledgment on the part of the United States of the right of Russia to the *possession* of the coast above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; but that it should be taken in connexion with the other articles, which have, in fact, no reference whatever to the question of the right of possession of the unoccupied parts of the coast. In a spirit of compromise, and to prevent future collisions or difficulties, it was agreed that no new establishments should be formed by the respective parties, north or south of a certain parallel of latitude, after the conclusion of the agreement; but the question of the *right of possession* beyond the existing establishments, as it subsisted previous to, or at the time of, the conclusion of the convention, was left untouched. The United States, in agreeing not to form new establishments north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes, made no acknowledgment of the right of Russia to the possession of the territory above that line. If such admission had been made, Russia, by the same construction of the article referred to, must have acknowledged the right of the United States to the territory south of the line. But that Russia did not so understand the article, is conclusively proved by her having entered into a similar agreement in a subsequent treaty (1825) with Great Britain, and having, in fact,

---

* Message of President Van Buren of December 4, 1838, and the accompanying document No. 2.

† See the Washington Globe of July 22, 1835.

1837. Nov. 3. acknowledged in that instrument the right of possession of the same territory by Great Britain. The United States can only be considered as acknowledging the right of Russia to acquire, by actual occupation, a just claim to unoccupied lands above the latitude of 54 degrees 40 minutes north; and even this is a mere matter of inference, as the convention of 1824 contains nothing more than a negation of the right of the United States to occupy new points within that limit. Admitting that this inference was in contemplation of the parties to the convention, it cannot follow that the United States ever intended to abandon the just right, acknowledged by the first article to belong to them, under the law of nations; that is—to frequent any part of the unoccupied coast of North America, for the purpose of fishing or trading with the natives. All that the convention admits is, an inference of the right of Russia to acquire possession by settlement north of 54 degrees and 40 minutes north; and until that possession is taken, the first article of the convention acknowledges the right of the United States to fish and trade, as prior to its negotiation."

These arguments, the conclusiveness of which appears to be unquestionable, the Russian Chancellor of State, Count Nesselrode, did not attempt to controvert. He contented himself simply with declining, in behalf of his Government, the proposition for the renewal of the engagements contained in the fourth article of the convention; and thus the matter rests. American vessels are prohibited from frequenting a large portion of the unoccupied west coasts of the continent, north of the latitude of 54 degrees and 40 minutes; and the trade of the United States in the north Pacific has been doubtless somewhat diminished in consequence.

The Russians have, in like manner, refused to renew the stipulations of the same nature contained in the fifth article of the treaty of 1825 between their Government and that of Great Britain, and have, moreover, directly opposed the enforcement of the right, secured to the latter Power, by another article of that treaty, to navigate any rivers which may flow from the interior of the continent to the ocean, across the line of boundary there established. The circumstances as related* are the following: In 1834, the Hudson's Bay Company fitted out an expedition for the purpose of establishing a trading-post on the *Stikine*, a river lately discovered, entering the ocean in latitude of 56 degrees 50 minutes, which is said to be three miles broad at its mouth, and a mile broad at the distance of thirty-five miles higher up. Baron Wrangel, the Governor of the Russian-American possessions, having been informed of this project, erected a block-house at the mouth of the river, and stationed a sloop of war there; and on the appearance of the vessel bearing the men and materials for the contemplated establishments, the British were informed that they would not be allowed to pass. All appeals to the treaty were ineffectual; and the Hudson's Bay Company were foiled in their attempt, after having spent, as is asserted, twenty thousand pounds in preparations.

---

* London and Westminster Review for August, 1838.

CHAPTER X.

Account of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments—Fur trade over land between the United States and the northwest territories—The North American and the Rocky Mountain Fur Companies—Expeditions of Wyeth and Bonneville—Emigration from the United States to the countries of the Columbia—Conclusion.

In the preceding chapter, it was shown that the *Northwest* and *Hudson's Bay* trading companies were, in 1821, united; or rather, that the former was merged in the latter, which afterwards, in virtue of an act of Parliament, passed in the same year, received from the British crown the exclusive privilege of trade in all the territories of America north of Canada and the United States, not already possessed by the company, as well as in those west of the Rocky Mountains, so far as the claims of Great Britain extended, agreeably to the convention of 1818 between her Government and that of the United States; that the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada over British subjects in all those territories, was established by the abovementioned act of Parliament; and that the stipulations of the convention of 1818, by which American citizens and British subjects were, during ten years, equally entitled to trade or settle in any country west of the Rocky Mountains, claimed by either party, had been continued in force for an indefinite period, with the understanding that they might be abrogated by either Government, after due notice of twelve months to the other. 1821. 1827.

These arrangements, all of which remain at present in vigor, have proved highly advantageous to the British in every respect. The northern and northwestern regions of the continent have been explored by their officers and men of science, and new means of commercial intercourse have been discovered, of which the Hudson's Bay Company have availed themselves, by increasing their establishments and extending their operations. That company is, indeed, a powerful body, or rather a great Power, in America. Its posts may be found occupying all the most important points in those regions; its boats may be met on every stream, conveying British manufactures to the interior, or furs to the great depositories on the seaboard, for shipment to England in British vessels; and the Indians are everywhere so tutored and managed by its agents, that they have become the willing slaves of the association, and are ready at any time to strike at its adversaries. Yet the whole number of persons in the service of the company, in 1834, was, according to Mr. Montgomery Martin,* less than one thousand, and it has probably not since been increased.

---

* History of the British Colonies, vol. iii, page 533.

1838. The concerns of the Hudson's Bay Company are managed by a governor, deputy governor, and a committee of directors, established in London, by whom all orders for the regulation of the business are devised and issued, and to whom all the reports and accounts are transmitted. The trade in America is under the immediate superintendence of a resident governor; the inferior officers are agents, factors, traders, and clerks, some of whom have a direct interest or share in the business; the others being engaged at small salaries, with the promise of a pension for life after a certain period of service. The greater part of these offices are generally filled by natives of Great Britain; the hunters, trappers, voyageurs, &c., are mostly French Canadians, Indians, or half-breeds, who receive little or nothing besides their clothing, and the scanty allowance of miserable food upon which they subsist. The strictest discipline and subordination are everywhere observed; and attention to the interests of the company is insured, by the prospects held out of advancement in the service, or of maintenance in old age.

Two settlements, intended partly for the reception and support of retiring servants of the company, have been established in its countries: one on the Red River, near the boundary of the United States, the only land north of that line which appears to offer any inducements for cultivation; and the other in the delightful valley of the Wallamet, south of the lower Columbia. The inhabitants of these colonies are kept in a state of absolute dependence upon the company; from it alone they can receive their supplies of foreign necessaries; it retains the right of the soil, and can, moreover, oblige them at a moment's warning to quit its territories. That the settlements should languish under such circumstances, and that the able-bodied men should desert from the Red River into the United States, as they frequently do, is not surprising.

The furs and skins, which form nearly the sole returns of the trade, are procured principally from the Indians, in exchange for coarse manufactured goods, imported from Great Britain free of duty into the company's territories; although servants of the association are also employed in trapping and hunting, at particular seasons. It is asserted on the part of the company, that ardent spirits are never bartered for furs, and that the average quantity introduced into the country has not, for many years past, exceeded a gill per annum for each person in it. There is no cause to doubt the sincerity of the statement, especially as it is the interest of the traders to keep the Indians sober, industrious, and free from vices; though other accounts appear to show that the quantity of liquors introduced is much greater, and that they are often given to the natives for furs—probably without the knowledge of the company's agents.

The territories of the company are divided into districts or departments, each under the charge of an agent, who distributes to the traders the goods received from England, and sends to their proper destination the furs collected in return; the transportation being performed alternately in boats and by portage, for which purpose the articles are packed in bundles of such a size as to be easily carried by one man. The furs are sent to three great depositories on the seaboard, from which are also brought the goods for trade. These are *Montreal*, on the Saint Lawrence, *York Factory*, on Hudson's Bay, and *Fort Vancouver*, on the Columbia; each of which is the capital or heart of a certain number of districts. Nearly all the articles going to or coming from Montreal, pass through *Fort William*, one of the principal factories of the company, situated a few miles northwest of Lake Superior. The furs and skins from Fort Vancouver are all sent directly to London, by ships which arrive annually, bringing articles for the trade. The company, moreover, employs several small vessels on the northwest coasts, and a steamboat; which latter is principally used in the Strait of Fuca, and the other channels among the islands of the northwest Archipelago. 1838

The average annual value of the peltries exported from America by the Hudson's Bay Company,* between 1827 and 1833, amounted, according to McGregor, to two hundred and ten thousand pounds sterling, (about one million of dollars,) of which, probably one-sixth part was received from the territories west of the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Wyeth estimates the amount of the furs derived from those territories by the company in 1836, at one hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars, London price; for which are given, about twenty thousand dollars worth (prime cost) of goods; the services of three hundred and fifty men, employed in various parts of the business; shipping to bring supplies, and take back returns; and two years' interest on the investments. He had, moreover, "good evidence that, in 1832, the profits of

---

* The following list of the Hudson's Bay Company's establishments west of the Rocky Mountains is extracted from an article in the London and Westminster Review for August, 1838; written by some person connected with that association, and minutely acquainted with its affairs:

"The principal establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company on the northwest coast is Fort Vancouver, situated on the north bank of the Columbia River, about seventy miles from the ocean, in latitude 45½ degrees, longitude 122 degrees 30 minutes. It was formed by Governor Simpson in 1824, and named after the distinguished navigator *who first discovered and surveyed the Columbia.* [!] They have likewise a post on the south side, at the mouth of the river, named Fort George, formerly Astoria. They have, moreover, the post of Nasqually, in Puget's Sound, latitude 47 degrees; the post of Fort Langly, at the outlet of Frazer's River, latitude 49 degrees 25 minutes; the post of Fort McLoughlin, in Mill Bank Sound, latitude 52 degrees; the post of Fort Simpson, on Dundas Island, latitude 54½ degrees; and were forcibly prevented by the Russians, in 1834, from establishing a post on the Stikine River, latitude 56½ degrees west, longitude 131 degrees 10 minutes. Inland, on the west side the mountains, they have fifteen establishments, viz: Frazer's Lake, McLeod's Lake, Fort George, Alexandria-Chilcotins, Babine, and Bear's Lake, in New Caledonia; the post of Thompson's River, falling into Frazer's River; the posts of Nez Percés, Okanagan, and Colville, on the Columbia; the Flathead and Kootania posts, between the north and south branches of the Columbia river, near the mountains; the post of Fort Hall, on the southern branch of the Columbia; and the Umqua Post, on the river of the same name, latitude 43 degrees 30 minutes, longitude 124 degrees, south of the Columbia River. They have, further, two migratory trading and trapping expeditions, of about fifty men each—the one hunting in the country situated between the Columbia and the Bay of San Francisco, towards the coast; and the other in the interior country between the Columbia and the head-waters of the rivers falling into the Bay of San Francisco. They likewise have a steam-vessel and five sailing-vessels, of from one hundred to three hundred tons burden, all armed."

1838. the whole western department (including the Columbia countries) did not exceed ten thousand dollars." The shares of the company are at this time worth more than double their original value, which was one hundred pounds each. In the most recent London tables of prices, the last annual dividend on each share is stated at ten pounds.*

In the mean time, the regions west of the Rocky Mountains have not been neglected by the people of the United States. For some years after the destruction of the Pacific Fur Company, no American citizens were to be seen in those countries. The *North American Company*, of which Mr. Astor was also the head, confined its operations to the vicinity of the Great Lakes, the head-waters of the Mississippi, and the lower part of the Missouri; sometimes extending them farther up the latter river, and on the Yellow Stone, particularly after its union with another company, organized in 1822, under the name of the *Columbia Fur Company*. In 1823, Mr. W. H. Ashley, of Saint Louis, who had previously established a trading-post on the Yellow Stone, fitted out an expedition for the country beyond the Rocky Mountains; and having crossed the chain between the sources of the Platte and the Colorado, near the 42d degree of latitude, he obtained a large supply of furs, which were transported to Saint Louis. About a hundred men were in the following year left by him in that country, to hunt and trap; and although they had to contend against the people of the Hudson's Bay Company, who opposed them in every way, the value of the furs collected by them in three years amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand dollars.

1827. In the first expeditions from Saint Louis, the goods were transported on pack-horses. In 1827, Mr. Ashley sent sixty men, with a piece of cannon drawn by mules, who marched to the great Salt Lake, called *Lake Youta*, beyond the mountains; and after remaining in that country a sufficient length of time to collect the furs and distribute the supplies among the hunters,

---

* The following table of the number and value of furs and pelties exported in 1831, from the parts of America owned or occupied by the British, is given in McCulloch's Dictionary of Commerce, as extracted from the work of Bliss, on the Trade and Industry of British America:

Skin.	*No.*		£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Beaver - - - - -	126,944	each	1	5	0	158,680	0	0
Muskrat - - - - -	375,731	"	0	0	6	9,393	5	6
Lynx - - - - -	58,010	"	0	8	0	23,204	0	0
Wolf - - - - -	5,947	"	0	8	0	2,378	16	0
Bear - - - - -	3,850	"	1	0	0	3,850	0	0
Fox - - - - -	8,765	"	0	10	0	4,382	10	0
Mink - - - - -	9,298	"	0	2	0	929	16	0
Racoon - - - - -	325	"	0	1	6	24	7	6
Tails - - - - -	2,290	"	0	1	0	114	10	0
Wolverine - - - -	1,744	"	0	3	0	261	12	0
Deer - - - - -	645	"	0	3	0	96	15	0
Weasel - - - - -	34	"	0	0	6	0	17	0
						£203,316	9	0

The other articles exported by the Hudson's Bay Company, from America, are isinglass, sea-horse teeth, feathers, goose and swan quills, whalebone, and oil; the value of all which is trifling.

returned to Missouri, having been absent just seven months. 1827. Since that time, wagons have been generally employed for carrying the articles to the foot of the mountains; they may, indeed, cross the chain, through a depression called the *Southern Pass*, nearly under the 42d parallel, between the head-waters of the Platte on the eastern side, and those of the Colorado and of the Lewis, the principal southern branch of the Columbia, on the west; and it is said that, recently, a light carriage has been driven from Connecticut to the Great Falls of the Columbia, near the Pacific.

In 1826 Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, of Saint Louis, 1826. engaged in the same business, and, having subsequently purchased Mr. Ashley's establishments and interests, they carried on a regular trade with the countries of the Columbia and the Colorado, under the name of the *Rocky Mountain Fur Company*.*

The active proceedings of the St. Louis traders roused the

---

* The following account of the first expedition with wagons to the Rocky Mountains made in 1829, by Messrs. Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, is extracted from a letter addressed by those gentlemen to the Secretary of War, in October, 1829, and published with President Jackson's message to the House of Representatives of January 25, 1831. It will serve to show the mode and the route generally pursued in these expeditions at the present day:

"On the 10th of April last, (1829,) we set out from Saint Louis, with eighty-one men, all mounted on mules, ten wagons, each drawn by five mules, and two dearborns, (light carriages, or carts,) each drawn by one mule. Our route was nearly due west to the western limits of the State of Missouri, and thence along the Santa Fé trail, about forty miles from which the course was some degrees north of west, across the waters of the Kansas, and up the Great Platte river, to the Rocky Mountains, and to the head of Wind River, where it issues from the mountains. This took us until the 16th of July, and was as far as we wished the wagons to go, as the furs to be brought in were to be collected at this place, which is, or was this year, the great rendezvous of the persons engaged in that business. Here the wagons could easily have crossed the Rocky Mountains, it being what is called the *Southern Pass*, had it been desirable for them to do so; which it was not, for the reason stated. For our support, at leaving the Missouri settlements, until we should get into the buffalo country, we drove twelve head of cattle, besides a milch cow. Eight of these only being required for use before we got to the buffaloes, the others went on to the head of Wind River. We began to fall in with the buffaloes on the Platte, about three hundred and fifty miles from the white settlements; and from that time lived on buffaloes, the quantity being infinitely beyond what we needed. On the 4th of August, the wagons being, in the mean time, loaded with the furs which had been previously taken, we set out on the return to Saint Louis. All the high points of the mountains then in view were white with snow; but the passes and valleys, and all the level country, were green with grass. Our route back was over the same ground nearly as in going out, and we arrived at Saint Louis on the 10th of October, bringing back the ten wagons, the dearborns being left behind; four of the oxen and the milch cow were also brought back to the settlements in Missouri, as we did not need them for provision. Our men were all healthy during the whole time; we suffered nothing by the Indians, and had no accident but the death of one man, being buried under a bank of earth that fell in upon him, and another being crippled at the same time. Of the mules, we lost but one by fatigue, and two horses stolen by the Kansas Indians; the grass being, along the whole route, going and coming, sufficient for the support of the horses and mules. The usual weight in the wagons was about one thousand eight hundred pounds. The usual progress of the wagons was from fifteen to twenty-five miles per day. The country being almost all open, level, and prairie, the chief obstructions were ravines and creeks, the banks of which required cutting down; and, for this purpose, a few pioneers were generally kept ahead of the caravan. This is the first time that wagons ever went to the Rocky Mountains, and the ease and safety with which it was done prove the facility of communicating over land with the Pacific Ocean; the route from the Southern Pass, where the wagons stopped, to the Great Falls of the Columbia, being easier and better than on this side of the mountains, with grass enough for horses and mules, but a scarcity of game for the support of men."

1832. spirit of the North American Fur Company, which also extended its operations to the countries beyond the Rocky Mountains; and several independent parties of adventurers have, from time to time, made expeditions in the same direction. In 1832 Captain Bonneville, of the United States army, while on a furlough, led a band of more than a hundred men, with twenty wagons and many mules and horses, carrying goods from Missouri to the Far West; and remained with them two years, employed in trading, hunting, and trapping, chiefly in the country drained by the Lewis and its branches.*

About the same time, Mr. Nathaniel Wyeth, of Massachusetts, endeavored to establish a direct trade in American vessels, between the ports of the United States and the Columbia; from which latter, the returns were to be made in salmon and furs. With these views, he led two expeditions across the continent; and having also sent a vessel around to the west coast, he formed two trading-stations—one called Fort Hall, near the junction of
1834. the river *Portneuf* with the *Lewis*, in the southeast angle of Oregon; and another on *Wappatoo Island*, at the entrance of the Wallamet into the Columbia, sixty miles from the Pacific. He was, however, forced to abandon his attempts, chiefly in consequence of the opposition indirectly exerted by the Hudson's Bay Company. Captain Wyeth's expeditions, though thus unprofitable to himself, have been rendered very advantageous to his countrymen, by means of the information which he has afforded respecting the territories of the Columbia. His short memoir, printed by order of the House of Representatives at Washington, in February, 1839,† conveys more exact and useful instruction as to the climate, soil, configuration of the surface, and agricultural and commercial capabilities of those countries, than any other work yet published.

1838. The posts of the Americans west of the Rocky Mountains are few, and those are on a very limited scale. Nearly all their furs are procured directly by themselves, as they trade but little with the Indians, whom the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company take care to keep at enmity with them. The hunters and trappers who remain constantly in that country are about three or four hundred in number, nearly all of them white men. In the summer of each year they repair (carrying their furs on pack-horses, or on their backs) to certain places of rendezvous, where they meet the caravans from the United States; and the trade is there conducted without the use of money, each article, however, bearing a nominal value,‡ expressed in dollars and cents. The principal places of rendezvous are on *Green River*, a branch of the Colorado, at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, on the western side, near the 42d degree of latitude; and *Pierre's Hole*, a valley about one hundred miles north of the other, from which issues one of the easternmost head-waters of the Snake, or Lewis River, emptying into the Columbia. Both these places are near the sources of a branch of the Platte, there called the *Sweet Water*, along which lies the route of the caravans from and to Missouri.

---

* The adventures of this officer and his party have been made generally known by Mr. Washington Irving, who has compiled from Captain Bonneville's notes a pleasant narrative, somewhat in the vein of Fray Antonio Agapida's Chronicle.

† Report of the committee of the House of Representatives relative to the Oregon Territory. Mr. Townsend, a naturalist of Philadelphia, who accompanied Captain Wyeth in his second journey across the continent, has published a Narrative of his Adventures. Wyeth's movements are also related incidentally in the account of Captain Bonneville's expedition.

‡ These nominal values are curious. We find, among the prices current on the Colorado, whiskey quoted at three dollars a pint; tobacco at five dollars a pound; gunpowder at six dollars a pint; dogs (for eating) at fifteen dollars each, &c.

To conclude with regard to the trade in peltries, for which the countries on the northwest side of America have been hitherto principally used by the people of civilized nations. It appears to be certain that the business is declining in every part of the continent, but particularly in the territories drained by the Columbia, in consequence of the disappearance of the animals yielding the furs and skins. The Hudson's Bay Company successfully endeavor to prevent this decrease on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, by allowing the districts in which it is perceived to remain undisturbed for some time. On the Columbia, however, where the control of that body is less absolute, and its tenure is uncertain, such precautions are not used; and every part is yearly ransacked by traders and trappers, both British and American. How long the fur trade may yet be profitably pursued beyond the mountains, it is impossible to judge from the imperfect data obtained; there is, however, reason to believe that those regions must soon be abandoned by the Hudson's Bay Company, unless some other mode of employing its capital there can be devised, or *the entire possession of the territory can be secured to it.* In what other pursuits besides the fur trade British capitalists may advantageously employ their funds in Northwest America, is therefore an interesting question at present. From what has been hitherto learned of those countries, they do not offer prospects of a speedy return for the investment of capital in any other way. They contain lands in detached portions, which will immediately yield to the industrious cultivator the means of subsistence, and enable him, perhaps, to purchase some foreign articles of luxury or necessity. But this is all; they produce no precious metals, or commodities, no gold nor silver, nor coffee, nor cotton, nor opium; nor are they, like India, inhabited by a numerous population, who may be easily forced to labor for the benefit of a few.

Such is the state of the fur trade in the interior of Northwest America, according to the most recent accounts. In the north Pacific, this business is no longer carried on by vessels of the United States, which have been completely excluded from the coasts, by the prohibitory measures of the Russians, and the activity of the Hudson's Bay Company. The only North American furs which now enter China by sea, are brought thither direct from New York or from London; but, in compensation for the loss of that trade, the Pacific is now traversed in all parts, by numerous American whaling vessels, giving employment to nearly four thousand seamen. For these vessels, the Sandwich Islands form the principal place of resort, although they often enter the

1839. Bay of San Francisco, in California, in order to obtain water and fresh provisions. The Sandwich Islands[*] are now under the authority of a native Sovereign; the Bay of San Francisco still constitutes a part of the Mexican possessions. How long will these two important places remain in their present political condition? Great Britain has pretensions to the sovereignty of Owyhee; and it is rumored that her Government has made propositions to that of Mexico for the purchase of California. Should the British determine to take possession of Owyhee, there is no probability that they could be prevented from so doing. With regard to California, however, it is not to be supposed that they would occupy the country without authorization from its present possessors; and it is scarcely possible that any Mexican administration will venture to sanction such a measure, as it would undoubtedly bring immediate ruin upon the Republic.

With regard to colonization in Northwest America, it has already been shown that the Hudson's Bay Company is adverse to the existence of a free population in its territories. The only settlement which appears to have been made under its auspices, beyond the Rocky Mountains, is that on the Wallamet, where a few old Canadian voyageurs are permitted to reside, with their Indian wives and half-breed families, on condition of remaining faithful to their liege lords of the company. In the neighborhood of each large factory, indeed, a portion of ground is cleared and cultivated, and dwelling-houses, mills, and shops for artisans are erected; but these improvements are all entirely subservient to the uses and objects of the company; all proceedings not strictly connected with its pursuits being discouraged, and all persons not under its authority being treated as intruders. Of the persons in the employment of the association, a small number only are white men; and rarely is a white woman to be seen in its territories. The half-breed voyageurs, trappers, and hunters, are better, and less expensive, than any others who could be obtained; and the Indian and half-breed women are the most useful helpmates, with whom all ties may, moreover, be easily dissolved. There is, in consequence, little prospect of the diffusion of the pure Anglo-Saxon race through countries possessed by the Hudson's Bay Company.

---

[*] These islands have been so frequently mentioned in the course of this memoir, that a short geographical notice of them may be usefully inserted here.

They are in number ten, situated in the north Pacific, just within the limits of the torrid zone, between 18½ and 22½ degrees of latitude, about three thousand miles, or twenty days' sail southwest from the mouth of the Columbia, and about twice that distance from Canton, which lies nearly due west from them. The largest of the islands, *Owyhee*, (or *Hawaii*, as it is also sometimes written,) is about four thousand miles in superficial extent, and is supposed to contain eighty thousand inhabitants. The principal port is *Honoruru*, in the island of *Woahoo*, or *Oahu*, said to be the most fertile and agreeable of the group. They were discovered by Cook in 1778, and surveyed by Vancouver, who, in 1794, obtained from Tamahamaha, King of Owyhee, the cession of that island to Great Britain, as related at page 138. Tamahamaha died in 1819, after having reduced all the Sandwich Islands under his authority; and they are at present governed by his reputed grandson, Kauikeaouli, or, as he styles himself, Tamahamaha III.

The Christian religion was established, or rather the ancient religion was overthrown, after the death of Tamahamaha; and several missionaries, nearly all of them Americans, of the Presbyterian church, are at present engaged in propagating their doctrines among the people. Some time since, two French Catholic priests entered the same field as missionaries; but they were persecuted, branded as idolaters, and at length driven from the islands by the Government, at the instigation, it is supposed, of the Protestants. The affair was forgotten until last year, when the French frigate Artemise arrived at Honoruru, and retribution was exacted for the alleged outrages, in a manner entirely conformable with the honor and glory of the *Grande Nation*.

The value of these islands to the commerce of the north Pacific is incalculable. They form, indeed, a hotel and storehouse for the refreshment and supply of vessels, situated in the most convenient position, immediately on the highway between Asia and America. Their importance as a place of resort for the whaling vessels of the United States may be estimated from the fact, that during the months of September, October, and November, 1839, they were visited by thirty-three ships, four brigs, and one schooner, all American, employed in that branch of fishery. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, for the peace and freedom of navigation of the Pacific, the Sandwich Islands should continue politically independent. This is, however, scarcely to be expected.

The first emigrations from the United States for the purpose of settlement, without any special commercial views, in the countries of the Columbia, appear to have been made in 1832. Three years afterwards, a small colony of Americans was established on the Wallamet, about seventy miles from its mouth, under the direction of Mr. Jason Lee, and other Methodist clergymen; and since that period, the number of citizens of the United States permanently residing beyond the Rocky Mountains has been much increased. With regard to the condition of these settlements, no information has been recently obtained. In 1837 they were all prospering; and it may be supposed that they are continuing to do well, inasmuch as a large number of emigrants sailed for the Columbia from New York in the autumn of last year, under the superintendence of one of the founders of the Wallamet colony; and other persons are said to be now in that city preparing for a similar expedition.

It is not, however, by means of such long and dangerous voyages that citizens of the United States are to effect settlements in Northwest America; and it will doubtless be the care of their Government to render smoother and more secure the routes across the continent to those countries, *lying entirely within the undisputed limits of the Republic.* In the possession of these routes, the Americans have infinite advantages over the British, and all other nations, for occupying the regions in question; and nothing more is required to render the journey through them safe and easy, than the establishment of a few posts, at convenient distances apart, on a line between the Missouri and the passes of the Rocky Mountains, which may serve as forts to overawe the savages, and as caravanserais for the repose, and possibly even for the supply, of travellers. When this has been done, the American settlements on the Columbia will soon acquire that degree of extent and stability, which will render nugatory all claims on the part of other nations to the possession of those countries.

Within the last five or six years the Government as well as the people of the United States have begun to devote their attention seriously to matters connected with the northwest regions of this continent. Numerous petitions have been presented, and motions have been made and discussed, in both Houses of the Federal Legislature, for the annulment of the existing arrange-

1839. ment with Great Britain, the military occupation of those territories, and the extension of American jurisdiction over them; and the Executive has been sedulously engaged in collecting the information which may be necessary in order to place the subject in a proper light, and to render movements effective at the proper time. These proceedings are all so recent, and so well known, that details respecting them would be needless. Suffice it to say, that no resolution has been taken on any of the plans proposed; and that the position of the American Government with regard to the territories claimed for the United States on the Pacific, continues as fixed by its conventions with Great Britain, Russia, and Mexico.*

The writer has now completed the task assigned to him, by presenting an exposition of the most important circumstances relative to the discovery and occupation of the northwest coasts and territories of North America, by the people of various civilized nations, and of the pretensions advanced by the Governments of those nations in consequence. To indicate farther the course which should be pursued on the part of the United States with regard to their claims, lies not within his province. To conclude: he has, as he conceives, demonstrated that *the titles of the United States to the possession of the regions drained by the river Columbia, derived from priority of discovery and priority of occupation, are as yet stronger, and more consistent with the principles of national right, than those of any other Power, from whatsoever source derived.* That those regions must be eventually possessed by the people of the United States only, no one acquainted with the progress of settlement in the Mississippi valley during the last fifteen years will be inclined to question; but that Great Britain will, by every means in her power, evade the recognition of the American claims, and oppose the establishment of an American population on the shores of the Pacific, may be confidently expected, from the dispositions evinced by her Government in all its recent discussions with the United States.

---

* That the British Government observes its engagements with equal strictness, there is some reason to doubt; inasmuch as it is said that a large tract in the angle formed by the Pacific and the Strait of Fuca, north of Bulfinch's Harbor, has been recently granted in full possession to the Hudson's Bay, or some other company, which is actually engaged in dividing and selling the lands.

APPENDIX.

A.

EXTENT OF THE PART OF THE WEST COAST OF NORTH AMERICA SEEN BY FRANCIS DRAKE IN 1579.

All that is known respecting Drake's visit to the northwest coast of America, has been derived from two narratives of his expedition, which are—

1. "*The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence, about the whole globe of the earth; begun in the year of our Lord* 1577: *by Francis Pretty;*" published in London by Hakluyt, in 1589, in his "*Voyages and Navigations of the English;*" and—

2. "*The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, collected out of the Notes of Mr. Francis Fletcher, Preacher in this employment, and compared with divers others' Notes, that went in the same voyage.*" It was published in 1652; the name of the compiler is not known. Fletcher's Journal is still preserved in manuscript in the British Museum; Burney, who consulted it, could, however, gather nothing from it, in addition to what is published. The *Famous Voyage* is undoubtedly one of the "*divers others' notes*" mentioned in the title, as whole sentences, and even paragraphs, are the same in both narratives.*

The *Famous Voyage* is a plain and succinct account, in general sufficiently clear, of what the writer saw, or believed to have taken place, during the voyage. With regard to the extent of coast observed by Drake on the northwestern side of California, he says only what is contained in the following paragraph:

"The 5th day of June, being in 43 degrees of the pole arctic, being speedily come out of the extreme heat, we found the air so cold that our men, being pinched with the same, complained of the extremity thereof; and the further we went, the more the cold increased upon us. Whereupon, we thought it best for that time to seek the land, and did so, finding it not mountainous, but low plain land, and we drew back again without landing, till we came within 38 degrees towards the line; in which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay, with a good wind to enter the same. In this bay we anchored on the 17th of June." After which, the writer goes on to describe the occurrences on shore.

Nothing is here said of the latitude, or of the day of the month, in which the land was first seen; it is, however, to be inferred from the context, that they did not advance far towards the north after the 5th of June, on which they were in the latitude of 43. Such was the opinion of Hakluyt, who, in many parts of his works, says that Drake sailed northwest of California to the 43d degree. Purchas, in his Pilgrims, published in 1617, (page 52, vol. i,) relates that "Sir Francis Drake sailed on the other side of America to 43 degrees of northerly latitude, and with cold was forced to retire." And of all the other accounts and notices of this voyage, written before 1750, three only have been found, in which it is asserted that the English proceeded north of the 43d parallel in the Pacific.

---

* The part of the *Famous Voyage* relating to the northwest coast may be found in the third volume of the reprint of Hakluyt's Collection, page 523. The *World Encompassed* is contained in the second volume of Osborne's Collection of Voyages, page 434.

The famous navigator, John Davis, in his World's Hydrographical Discovery, published in 1595, (Hakluyt, vol. iv, page 459,) says: "And after that Sir Francis Drake was entered into the South Sea, he coasted all the western shores of America, until he came into the septentrional latitude of 48 degrees." To this assertion, however, no credit can be given, inasmuch as it is nowhere else pretended that Drake saw any part of the western side of America, between Guatulco and the 38th degree.

Admiral Sir William Monson, in his *Naval Tracts*, first published in 1712, also declares, that "from the 16th of April to the 15th of June, Drake sailed without seeing land; and arrived in 48 degrees, thinking to find a passage into our seas, which land he named New Albion." Unfortunately for the admiral's consistency, he remarks, in many other parts of his *Tracts*, that Cape Mendocino, which is near the 40th parallel, is "*the farthest land discovered*," and "*the furthermost known part of America.*"

The *World Encompassed* is the only work, besides the two above mentioned, published before the middle of the last century, in which it is maintained that Drake advanced along the west coast of America beyond the 43d degree of latitude; and upon the statements there given Burney founds his assertion, that the whole western shore of the continent between the 42d and the 48th parallels, was first discovered by the English navigator. A few extracts from the narrative, with observations upon them, will serve to show that this decision is not warranted by sufficient authority.

* "From Guatulco," says the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, "we departed April 15, setting our course directly into the sea; whereupon we sailed five hundred leagues in longitude to get a wind, and between that and the 3d of June one thousand four hundred leagues in all, till we came into the latitude of 42 degrees north, where, in the night following, we found such an alteration of the heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did grievously complain thereof. * * * * It came to that extremity, that in sailing but 2 degrees farther to the northward in our course, * * * * our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently, in a manner, be frozen up; and our ropes and tackling, in a few days, were grown to that stiffness, that what three men before were able to perform, now six men, with their best strength and utmost endeavor, were hardly able to accomplish. * * * * The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the west than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware; and yet, the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of June we were forced by contrary winds to run in with

---

* The part of the *World Encompassed*, devoted to Drake's Voyage in the north Pacific, is spread over a number of pages, the greater part of which are occupied with the speculations (of the compiler, no doubt) on the causes of the great coldness of the atmosphere in that quarter, and with accounts of the ceremonies of the natives; all of which are here omitted.

the shore, which we then first descried; and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger, by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us. * * * * In this place was no abiding for us, and to go farther north the extremity of the cold would not permit us; and the winds directly bent against us, having once gotten us under sail again, commanded us to the southward, whether we would or no. From the height of 48 degrees, in which we now were, to 38, we found the land, by coasting along it, to be but low and reasonably plain; every hill, whereof we saw many, but none very high, though it were in June, and the sun in his nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow. In 38 degrees 30 minutes, we fell in with a convenient and fit harbor; and June 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23d of July; during all which time, notwithstanding it was the height of summer, and so near the sun, yet we were constantly visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before. * * * * Neither could we, at any time, in whole fourteen days together, find the air so clear as to be able to take the height of sun or star. * * * * How unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itself, showing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness, in those months of June and July! * * * For the causes of this extremity, * * the chiefest we conceive to be, the large spreading of the Asian and American continents, which, (somewhat northward of these parts,) if they be not fully joined, yet seem to come very near one to another; from whose high and snow-covered mountains, the north and northwest winds, the constant visiters of these coasts, send abroad their frozen nymphs. * * * * And that the north and northwest winds are here constant in June and July, as the north wind alone is in August and September, we not only found it by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof by the continued observations of the Spaniards. * * * * Though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the east, but rather running on continually northwest, as if it went directly to meet with Asia."

Upon examining these statements, given in the World Encompassed, we find that on the *third* of June, Drake's vessel was in the latitude of *forty-two degrees;* and that on the *fifth* of the same month she anchored near the American coast, in a bay situated under the *forty-eighth parallel;* that is to say, in the course of *sixty hours at furthest, she advanced at least three hundred and sixty miles, with the winds blowing violently against her.* Such a rate of sailing, under such circumstances, could not be attained by any vessel at the present time; and when we, moreover, take into consideration the constant obscurity of the heavens, and the constant agitation of the English ship by the waves, which must have rendered it impossible to observe the height of the sun, with the best instruments then in use, we may safely conclude that the account of the latitudes is erroneous. This incongruity is not noticed by Captain Burney, who bases his decision entirely upon the authority of the *World Encompassed.* He considers as perfectly "*explicit upon the subject*" the statement in that narrative, that the English "searched the coast diligently, even unto the 48th degree, yet they found not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the east." He, however, omits the remainder of the sentence—"but rather running on continually northwest, as if it went directly to meet with Asia," although he must have known that it destroys the value of the first part of the evidence, inasmuch as the coast nowhere between the 41st and the 47th parallels *trends so much as one point* towards the west.

Burney, moreover, being desirous to establish the character of the *World Encompassed* for correctness, scrupulously abstains from remarks upon the accounts given in that work, of the extreme coldness of the air in the north Pacific during the summer. That persons coming suddenly from the torrid zone into a region 20 degrees farther north should find the change of temperature disagreeable, is quite natural; but that "meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, should presently be frozen up," and the ropes and tackling of a vessel be stiffened by ice, during the month of June, in any part of the ocean between the 40th and 44th degrees of latitude, is wholly incredible.

The opinion that Drake discovered the northwest coast of America as far as the 48th degree of latitude was not countenanced by any other writers than the three above cited before the year 1750, when it was adopted by the compilers of the Biographia Britannica, in their life of the hero. Among those who considered the 43d parallel as the northern limit of that navigator's course in the Pacific, are De Laet, in his Histoire du Nouveau Monde; Ogilby, in his History of America; Heylin, in his Cosmography; Locke, in his History of Navigation; and last, not least, Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his Biography of Drake. In the maps of America, contained in Heylin's Cosmography,* printed in 1708, and in the curious Historical Atlas of Mitchell and Senex, published in 1720, California is represented as an island extending from the 23d parallel to the 44th, in the northern part of which New Albion is located. These authorities will serve at least to show which of the two opinions may be regarded as an innovation.

The question is of little importance. The British Government has, however, on many occasions, evinced, indirectly, a desire to found some claim to the possession of the northwestern side of America upon the supposed discoveries of Drake in that quarter. The name *New Albion* will be generally found occupying a large space on all maps of America published in Great Britain. In the chart attached to the Journal of Vancouver's expedition, *the whole of California* is thus designated; and as recently as 1827, it has been insisted on the part of the British Government that Great Britain had obtained grants of territory on the northwest coast of America, from the inhabitants, before the existence of the United States as a nation.

To conclude: there is no absolute evidence that Drake did not discover the northwest American coast as far north as the 48th degree; but, on the other hand, the assertion that he did is not supported by adequate testimony, and, where originally made, it is accompanied by statements irreconcilable with the results of experience. It may be admitted that the English did, in 1579, see the part of that coast included between the 38th and the 43d parallels; but it is equally certain, if not more so, that such part had been already discovered by the Spaniards, under Cabrillo and Ferrelo, in 1543.

---

* It may be here remarked, that in Heylin's map of America, the northwest coast beyond California to the extremity of Aliaska, is laid down almost accurately. Yet we have no accounts of any discoveries in that part of the Pacific of a date earlier than 1741.

B.

PRETENDED DISCOVERY, BY MALDONADO, OF A NORTHERN PASSAGE BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE PACIFIC IN 1588.

The Spanish manuscript discovered by Amoretti in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and of which he published a French translation in 1812, (see page 40,) is entitled: "*A Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian, made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, in the year* 1588, *in which is written the order of the navigation, the situation of the place, and the manner of fortifying it.*" It consisted of thirty-five paragraphs, the most material of which are presented by Burney in his History of Voyages in the South Sea, vol. v, page 167; they are as follows:

"By means of this strait, the King would render himself sole master of all the spices, and make a profit of five millions annually, by constraining other nations to send to Spain to procure them. Spain, therefore, ought immediately to set about securing and fortifying this strait. But it is necessary that I should show the route which must be taken, the ports that will be found, and that I add thereto a narration of my voyage.

"Departing from Spain or Lisbon, the course is to the northwest four hundred and fifty leagues, by which you will arrive to 60 degrees north latitude, where you will have sight of Friesland. Thence, the route must be to the west, keeping in the said latitude one hundred and eighty leagues to the land of Labrador, at the place where begins the Strait of Labrador. Here are two channels: one leading to the northeast, and the other to the northwest. The course must be in that to the northwest, to 64 degrees, where the channel changes its direction; and you will have to sail north one hundred and twenty leagues, to the latitude of 72 degrees. The channel then again turns to the northwest, and you run in it to 75 degrees. You then entirely quit the Strait of Labrador, and begin to lower your latitude, steering west-by-south three hundred and fifty leagues, to latitude 71 degrees. It was at this place in our voyage that we discovered a high land, but we could not discern if it was island or continent. Nevertheless, we concluded that if it was the main land it would be joined to New Spain. From seeing this land, you steer west-southwest four hundred and forty leagues, to 60 degrees latitude, where should be found the Strait of Anian. In this manner they will make the same navigation which I have made, at least from Friesland to this place. The distance to be sailed, from Spain to the Strait of Anian, is one thousand seven hundred and ten leagues.

"When we went out from the Strait of Labrador, which was at the beginning of the month of March, we had much to suffer from the darkness, the cold, and tempests. Those who think this sea can be entirely frozen over are in an error; for, by reason of its extent, of the great currents which are in the strait, and the high waves which keep the sea continually in motion, it cannot be frozen; but on the shores, and in the places where the sea is tranquil, I think it may be frozen.

"When we were on our return, in the month of June, and in part of July, we had continual light, and the sun never descended below the horizon, till we were the second time in the middle of the Strait of Labrador. Whilst the sun remained continually above the horizon, the air was so warm that we had to suffer as much from the heat as in the hottest time in Spain.

"The strait which we discovered in 60 degrees north latitude appears to be that which, from an ancient tradition, the cosmographers in their charts call the Strait of Anian; and, if it is true that such a strait exists, it ought, necessarily, to leave Asia on one side, and America on the other. When we went out of the strait into the Great Sea, [the Pacific Ocean,] we navigated along the coast of America more than one hundred leagues, having our prow to the southwest till we found ourselves in 55 degrees latitude. We then left this coast, which we saw prolonged itself towards the south, and directed our prow to the west four days, at thirty leagues per day, and discovered a large land and great chains of mountains. We navigated along it, keeping at a distance, sometimes to the northeast, sometimes to the northwest, and sometimes to the north, but in general to the northeast. We could not know particular things of this coast, because we kept far off from the land. I can only affirm that the country is peopled, because in many places we saw men; and we judged that these lands were the lands of the Tartars, or of Catay. At length, following this same coast, we again found ourselves in the Strait of Anian, from which we had gone fifteen days before into the Great Sea, which we knew to be the South Sea, where lie the countries of Japan, China, the Moluccas, and New Guinea, with the discovery of Captain Quiros, and all the western coast of New Spain and Peru.

"At the mouth of the strait by which you enter the South Sea, on the American side, is a port capable of containing five hundred ships. The country is pleasant; the temperature agreeable; the cold of the winter not rigorous, though in 59 degrees north latitude, to judge by the kinds of fruits which were found. Here are very high trees, some producing good fruits like to those in Spain, and others not before known to us.

"The strait has fifteen leagues of extent, in which it makes six turns or angles, and the two entrances are north and south from each other. The breadth of the northern entrance is less than half a quarter of a league. The southern entrance, which is near the port, is more than a quarter of a league in breadth; and in the middle is a great rock or islot, about two hundred paces in diameter, of a circular form, and of the height of three stades. The channel, on one side of this islot, is so shallow as to be navigable only for boats; but the channel between the islot and the land of America, though not quite half a quarter of a league in breadth, has deep water for ships. The borders are low; and forts might be built both on the main land and on the islot, which would straiten the passage to within musket shot. The passage might also be shut or locked up with a chain across, which with industry might be formed strong enough to stand against the currents.

"It is difficult to know the entrance of the strait on the northern side, because the two shores interlock, reciprocally hiding each other. In fact, when we first arrived there, we were some days without perceiving it, although we had already entered, being guided by a good narrative of Juan Martinez, pilot-mayor, who was a Portuguese, a native of Algarva, a very old man and of much experience. But I have taken marks by the mountains, to enable me to make another navigation if I should have occasion.

"In the port where we cast anchor, we lay from the beginning of April to the middle of June. At this epoch, we saw come from the South Sea to enter the strait a great ship of eight hundred tons, which made us take to our arms; but we reciprocally came to know each other as peaceable voyagers. The sailors had the generosity to give us some of the merchandise of their cargo, which resembled the things which come to us from China, as brocades, silks, porcelain, and other effects of value, as precious stones and gold. These people appeared to us to be Moscovites, or Hanseatics; that is to say, those who make their residence in the Port of Saint Michael, [Hamburg.] They said they came from a large town, which was distant from the strait a little more than one hundred leagues, where they had left another vessel of their country. We could not obtain much information from these people, because they spoke to us with little confidence and much circumspection; and, for that reason, we soon separated, and, having left them near the strait and in the North Sea, we took the route for Spain."

The London Quarterly Review for October, 1816, contains an exposition of the numerous falsehoods and blunders contained in this *relation*, and pronounces "the pretended voyage of Maldonado to be the clumsy and audacious forgery of some ignorant German, from the circumstance of fifteen leagues to the degree being used in some of the computations." The reviewer avows his belief that Maldonado did make a voyage in the north Pacific, about the end of the 16th century, and that he may possibly have reached Prince William's Sound or Cook's Inlet, either of which might have been then at first mistaken for a strait separating Asia from America.

C.

ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF JUAN DE FUCA IN 1592.

[Extracted from Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii, page 849.*]

"*A Note made by me, Michael Lock, the elder, touching the strait of sea, commonly called Fretum Anian, in the South Sea, through the northwest passage of Meta Incognita.*

"When I was at *Venice*, in April, 1596, happily arrived there an old man, about sixty years of age, called commonly *Juan de Fuca*, but named properly *Apostolos Valerianus*, of nation a Greek, born in *Cephalonia*, of profession a mariner, and an ancient pilot of ships. This man, being come lately out of Spain, arrived first at *Leghorn*, and went thence to *Florence*, where he found one John Douglas, an Englishman, a famous mariner, ready coming for *Venice*, to be pilot of a Venetian ship for England, in whose company they came both together to *Venice*. And John Douglas being acquainted with me before, he gave me knowledge of this Greek pilot, and brought him to my speech; and in long talks and conference between us, in presence of John Douglas, this Greek pilot declared, in the Italian and Spanish languages, thus much in effect as followeth:

"First: he said that he had been in the West Indies of Spain forty years, and had sailed to and from many places thereof, in the service of the Spaniards.

---

* The orthography of the English is modernized; the letters are, however, given in their original Spanish-Italian *lingua franca*.

"Also, he said that he was in the Spanish ship which, in returning from the Islands *Philippinas*, towards *Nova Spania*, was robbed and taken at the *Cape California* by *Captain Candish*, Englishman, whereby he lost sixty thousand ducats of his own goods.

"Also, he said that he was pilot of three small ships, which the Viceroy of *Mexico* sent from *Mexico*, armed with one hundred men, under a captain, Spaniards, to discover the *Straits of Anian*, along the coast of the *South Sea*, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those straits into the *South Sea*; and that, by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from *California* to *Nova Spania*, without any thing done in that voyage; and that, after their return, the captain was at *Mexico* punished by justice.

"Also, he said that shortly after the said voyage was so ill ended, the said Viceroy of *Mexico* sent him out again in 1592, with a small caravel and a pinnace, armed with mariners only, to follow the said voyage for the discovery of the *Straits of Anian*, and the passage thereof into the sea, which they call the *North Sea*, which is our northwest sea; and that he followed his course in that voyage, west and northwest in the *South Sea*, all along the coast of *Nova Spania*, and *California*, and the *Indies*, now called *North America*, (all which voyage he signified to me in a great map, and a sea card of mine own, which I laid before him,) until he came to the latitude of 47 degrees; and that there finding that the land trended north and northeast, with a broad inlet of sea, between 47 and 48 degrees of latitude, he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days, and found that land trending still sometime northwest and northeast, and north, and also east and southeastward, and very much broader sea than was at the said entrance, and that he passed by divers islands in that sailing; and that at the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof, a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar thereupon.

"Also, he said that he went on land in divers places, and that he saw some people on land clad in beasts' skins; and that the land is very fruitful, and rich of gold, silver, pearls, and other things, like *Nova Spania*.

"And also, he said that he being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already, and finding the sea wide enough everywhere, and to be about thirty or forty leagues wide in the mouth of the straits, where he entered, he thought he had now well discharged his office; and that not being armed to resist the force of the savage people, that might happen, he therefore set sail, and returned homewards again towards *Nova Spania*; where he arrived at *Acapulco*, anno 1592, hoping to be rewarded by the Viceroy for this service done in the said voyage.

"Also, he said that after coming to *Mexico*, he was greatly welcomed by the Viceroy, and had promises of great reward; but that having sued there two years, and obtained nothing to his content, the Viceroy told him that he should be rewarded in Spain, of the King himself, very greatly, and willed him therefore to go to Spain; which voyage he did perform.

"Also, he said that when he was come into Spain, he was welcomed there at the King's court; but after long suit there also, he could not get any reward there to his content; and, therefore, at length he stole away out of Spain, and came into Italy, to go home again and live among his own kindred and countrymen, he being very old.

"Also, he said that he thought the cause of his ill reward had of the Spaniards, to be for that they did understand very well that the English nation had now given over all their voyages for discovery of the northwest passage; wherefore they need not fear them any more to come that way into the *South Sea*, and, therefore, they needed not his service therein any more.

"Also, he said that, understanding the noble mind of the Queen of England, and of her wars against the Spaniards, and hoping that her Majesty would do him justice for his goods lost by Captain Candish, he would be content to go into England, and serve her Majesty in that voyage for the discovery perfectly of the northwest passage into the *South Sea*, if she would furnish him with only one ship of forty tons burden and a pinnace; and that he would perform it in thirty days time, from one end to the other of the strait; and he willed me so to write to England.

"And upon conference had twice with the said Greek pilot, I did write thereof accordingly to England, unto the right honorable the old Lord Treasurer Cecil, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and to Master Richard Hakluyt, that famous cosmographer, certifying them hereof. And I prayed them to disburse one hundred pounds, to bring the said Greek pilot into England with myself, for that my own purse would not stretch so wide at that time. And I had answer that this action was well liked, and greatly desired in England; but the money was not ready, and therefore this action died at that time, though the said Greek pilot perchance liveth still in his own country, in *Cephalonia*, towards which place he went within a fortnight after this conference had at *Venice*.

"And in the mean time, while I followed my own business in *Venice*, being in a lawsuit against the company of merchants of Turkey, to recover my pension due for being their consul at *Aleppo*, which they held from me wrongfully; and when I was in readiness to return to England, I thought I should be able of my own purse to take with me the said Greek pilot; and, therefore, I wrote unto him from *Venice* a letter, dated July, 1596, which is copied here under:

"Al Mag$^{co.}$ Sig$^{or.}$ Capitan Juan de Fuca, Piloto de Indias, amigo mio char^{mo} en Zefalonia.

"Muy Honrado Sennor: Siendo yo para buelverme en Inglaterra dentre de pocas mezes, y accuerdandome de lo trattado entre my y V. M. en Venesia sobre el viagio de las Indias, me ha parescido bien de scrivir esta carta a V. M. para que se tengais animo de andar con migo, puedais escribirme presto en que maniera quereis consertaros. Y puedais embiarmi vuestra carta con esta nao Ingles, que sta al Zante (sino hallais otra coiuntura meior) con el sobrescritto que diga en casa del Sennor Eleazar Hycman, mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San Tomas en Venisia. Y Dios guarde la persona de V. M. Fecha en Venesia al primer dia de Julio, 1596 annos.

---

* *To the Magnificent Captain Juan de Fuca, Pilot of the Indias; my most dear friend in Cephalonia.*

Most Honored Sir: Being about to return to England in a few months, and recollecting what passed between you and myself at Venice respecting the voyage to the Indies, I have thought proper to write you this letter, so that if you have a mind to go with me, you can write me word directly how we are to arrange. You may send the your letter with this English vessel, which is at Zante, (if you should find no better opportunity,) directed to the care of Mr. Eleazer Hyckman, an English merchant, Saint Thomas street, Venice. God preserve you, sir.

Your friend,

MICHAEL LOCK, *of England.*

Venice, *July* 1, 1596.

"Amigo de V. M.,

"MICHAEL LOCK, *Ingles.*

"And I sent the said letter from Venice to Zante in the ship Cherubin; and shortly after I sent a copy thereof in the ship Minion; and also a third copy thereof by Manea Orlando, patron de nave Venetian. And unto my said letters he wrote me answer to Venice by one letter, which came not to my hands; and also by another letter, which came to my hands; which is copied here under:

*"*Al Ill$^{mo.}$ Sig$^{or.}$ Michael Lock, Ingles, in casa del Sig$^{or.}$ Lasaro, mercader Ingles, al tragetto de San Tomas en Venesia.*

"Muy Illustre Sig$^{or.}$: La carta de V. M. recevi a 20 dias del mese di Settembre, por loqual veo loche V. M. me manda. Io tengho animo de complir loche tengo promettido a V. M. y no solo yo, mas tengo vinte hombres para lievar con migo, porche son hombres vaglientes; y assi estoi esperando por otra carta che avise a V. M. parache me embiais los dinieros che tengo escritto a V. M. Porche bien save V. M. como io vine pover, porque me glievo Captain Candis mas de sessenta mille ducados, como V. M. bien save; embiandome lo dicho, ire a servir a V. M. con todos mis compagneros. I no spero otra cosa mas de la voluntad é carta de V. M. con tanto nostro Sig$^{or.}$ Dios guarda la illustre persona de V. M. muchos annos. De Ceffalonia a 24 de Settembre del 1596.

"Amigo y servitor de V. M.,

"JUAN FUCA.

"And the said letter came into my hands in Venice, the 16th day of November, 1596; but my lawsuit with the company of Turkey was not ended, by reason of Sir John Spenser's suit, made in England at the Queen's court to the contrary, seeking only to have his money discharged, which I had attached in Venice for my said pension, and thereby my own purse was not yet ready for the Greek pilot.

"And, nevertheless, hoping that my said suit would have shortly a good ond, I wrote another letter to this Greek pilot from Venice, dated the 20th of November, 1596, which came not to his hands; and, also, another letter, dated the 24th of January, 1596, which came to his hands. And thereof he wrote me answer, dated the 28th of May, 1597, which I received the 1st of August, 1597, by Thomas Norden, an English merchant, yet living in London, wherein he promised still to go with me unto England, to perform the said voyage for discovery of the northwest passage into the South Sea, if I would send him money for his charges, according to his former writing, without which money he said he could not go, for that as he was undone utterly when he was in the ship Santa Anna, which came from China, and was robbed at California. And yet again afterward I wrote him another letter from Venice, whereunto he wrote me answer by a letter written in his Greek language, dated the 20th of October, 1598, the which I have still by me, wherein he promiseth still to go with me into England, and perform the said voyage of discovery of the northwest passage into the South Sea by the said straits, which he calleth the Strait of Nova Spania, which he saith is but thirty days' voyage in the straits, if I will send him the money formerly written for his charges; the which money I could not yet send him, for that I had not yet recovered my pension owing me by the company of Turkey aforesaid; and so, of long time, I staid any further proceeding with him in this matter.

---

* *To the Illustrious Michael Lock, Englishman, at the house of Mr. Lazaro, English merchant, in Saint Thomas street, Venice.*

Most Illustrious Sir: Your letter was received by me on the 20th of September, by which I am informed of what you communicate. I have a mind to comply with my promise to you; and have not only myself, but twenty men, (brave men, too,) whom I can carry with me; so, I am waiting for another letter from you, about the money which I asked you to send me. For, you know well, sir, how I became poor, in consequence of Captain Candish's having taken from me more than sixty thousand ducats, as you know. If you will send me what I asked, I will go with you, as well as all my companions. I expect no more from your kindness, or from the tenor of your letter. God preserve you, most illustrious sir, for many years.

Your friend and servant,

JUAN FUCA.

Cephalonia, *September* 24, 1596.

"And yet, lastly, when I myself was at Zante in the month of June, 1602, minding to pass from thence for England by sea, for that I had then recovered a little money from the company of Turkey, by an order of the Lords of the Privy Council of England, I wrote another letter to this Greek pilot to Cephalonia, and required him to come to me to Zante, and go with me into England, but I had no answer thereof from him; for that, as I heard afterward at Zante, he was then dead, or very likely to die of great sickness. Whereupon, I returned myself by sea from Zante to Venice, and from thence I went by land through France into England, where I arrived at Christmas, anno 1602; safely, I thank God, after my absence from thence ten years' time, with great troubles had for the company of Turkey's business, which hath cost me a great sum of money, for the which I am not yet satisfied of them."

D.

OCCURRENCES AT NOOTKA SOUND IN 1789 AND 1792.

(1.)

Translation of a letter from Don J. F. de la Bodega y Quadra, the Spanish commandant at Nootka Sound, to Captains Gray and Ingraham, commanding the American merchant vessels Columbia and Washington, then lying in that harbor.

NOOTKA, *August* 2, 1792.

In order to satisfy the Court of England, as is just, for the injury, damages, and usurpation, which it conceives itself to have sustained at this port in the year 1789, I have to request of you, gentlemen, the favor to inform me, with that sincerity which distinguishes you, and which is conformable with truth and honor, wherefore Don Esteban José Martinez seized the vessels of Colnett, the Iphigenia and the Northwest America? What establishment or building did Mr. Meares have, on the arrival of the Spaniards? What territories are those which he says that he purchased from Maquinna, Yuquiniam, or any other chief of these tribes? With what objects were the crew of the Northwest America transferred to the Columbia; and were ninety-six skins placed on board that ship? Finally, what was the whole amount of skins carried by you to China, and to whom did they belong?[*]

Your most obedient and assured servant,

JUAN FRANCISCO DE LA BODEGA Y QUADRA.

To Captains ROBERT GRAY and JOSEPH INGRAHAM.

(2.)

Reply to the preceding letter.[†]

NOOTKA SOUND, *August* 3, 1792.

SIR: Your esteemed favor was handed to us yesterday, requesting from us information relative to the transactions between the English and Spaniards in this sound in the year 1789, which we will do with great pleasure, and impartially, as you request.

On the 5th of May, 1789, when Don Estevan Jose Martinez arrived in Friendly Cove, he found riding at anchor there the Iphigenia only; the ship Columbia being at Mahwhinna, five miles up the sound. The sloop Washington and Northwest America (schooner) were on a cruise. This information is necessary in order to regulate the sequel of the present. After the usual ceremonies of meeting were over, Don Martinez requested the papers of each vessel, and demanded why they were at anchor in Nootka Sound, alleging it belonged to his Catholic Majesty. Captain Viana, who passed as commander of the Iphigenia, answered, they had put in, being in distress, having but little provisions, and in great want of every necessary, such as cables, anchors, rigging, sails, &c.; that they were in daily expectation of the arrival of Captain Meares from Macao to supply them, when they should depart.[‡] Captain Meares was expected to return in the same vessel he sailed in from hence in the year 1788, which was under the Portuguese colors, and had a Portuguese captain on board; this vessel with the Iphigenia were said to belong to one Cravalia, or Cavallo, a merchant of Macao, in whose name the Iphigenia's papers were made out. Seeing the Iphigenia was in such want, Don Martinez gave them a temporary assistance, by supplying them with such articles as they were most in want, till the vessel before mentioned should arrive. At this time there was not the least suspicion of any misunderstanding or disturbance among us, as Don Martinez was apparently satisfied with the answers each vessel had given to his request.

---

[*] The original letter is attached to the Journal of Captain Ingraham, which is now in the office of the Secretary of State, at Washington.

[†] Copied from Ingraham's Journal. This letter is now for the first time published. An incorrect synopsis of it may be found in the Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, vol. i, page 389. Some of the discrepancies between which and the letter will be here indicated by the notes.

[‡] Vancouver renders the passage as follows: "Captain Viana, of the *Portuguese* vessel, answered, that he had put in there in distress, to await the arrival of Captain Meares *from Macao*;" omitting, as he does throughout his synopsis, all the particulars calculated to show the miserable condition of the Iphigenia, and the extent of the assistance afforded by the Spaniards.

However, on the 10th of May, the San Carlos, Captain Arrow, [Haro,] arrived. The same day the American officers came to Uquot, or Friendly Cove, to welcome them in, and the next morning, the 11th of May, Don Martinez captured the Iphigenia, and his reason, as we understood, was, that, in their Portuguese instructions, they had orders to capture any English, Spanish, or Russian subjects they met on the northwest coast of America. This, at the time, seemed improbable, as she was a vessel of small force, and it was afterwards found to have been a mistake, owing to their want of a perfect knowledge of the Portuguese language. However, after the vessel was taken, the officers and seamen were divided, some on board the Princesa, and some on board the San Carlos, where they were treated with all imaginable kindness and every attention paid them.

* On the 24th of May the abovementioned mistake being discovered, the Iphigenia was returned again and the Portuguese flag hoisted on board her; the same day, Captain Douglas, with the Portuguese captain and seamen, repaired on board. The Iphigenia, while in possession of the Spaniards, from being a wreck was put in complete order for sea, being calked, rigging and sails repaired, anchors and cables sent from the Princesa, &c. On the 26th Don Martinez supplied them with every kind of provisions they were in need of, for which Captain Douglas gave him bills on Cravallia, the beforementioned merchant of Macao. On the 31st the Iphigenia sailed, and was saluted by the Spanish fort; and the commodore accompanied them out of the harbor, giving every assistance with boats, &c. When Captain Douglas took his leave of the commodore, he declared he should ever entertain a sense of Don Martinez's kindness, deeming his conduct relative to the vessel no more than his duty as a king's officer. Upon the whole, we both believe the Iphigenia's being detained was of infinite service to those who were concerned in her. This must be plain to every one who will consider the situation of the vessel when the Princesa arrived, and the advantages reaped from the supplies and assistance of the Spaniards. The detention, if it may be called so, could be no detriment; for, had nothing taken place, she must have remained two months longer at least, having, as has already been mentioned, put into port, being in distress; of course they could not have sailed till supplies arrived, which was not till July, as will appear in the sequel; whereas, being early fitted as above mentioned, she sailed on the coast northward of Nootka Sound, and there being no other vessel there, they collected upwards of seven hundred sea-otter skins; which has been often represented to us by Captain Douglas and his officers, after our arrival in China. This may suffice for the transactions relative to the Iphigenia. Before Captain Douglas sailed, he gave Don Estevan Martinez a letter to Mr. Funter, master of the schooner Northwest America, telling him, from Cap-

---

* Of the whole of this paragraph, all that is said by Vancouver is: "The vessel and cargo were liberated, and Martinez supplied the Iphigenia's wants from the Princesa, enabling her, by so doing, to prosecute her voyage without waiting for the return of Mr. Meares." The extremity of distress to which the Iphigenia was reduced on her arrival at Nootka, the seven hundred sea-otter skins, and the other advantages derived by her owners from the supplies furnished by the Spanish commandant, are carefully kept out of sight.

tain Meares not arriving at the appointed time, there was great reason to fear the vessel he sailed from Nootka in had never reached China, (she being in bad condition when she sailed from this place;) therefore, as he, Mr. Funter, must, on his arrival, be destitute of every necessary, he was at liberty to conduct as he thought most conducive to the interests of his employers. We shall make mention of this vessel again hereafter.

Interim, we observe your wish to be acquainted what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time the Spaniards arrived here? We answer in a word—none. On the arrival of the Columbia in the year 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards made by the Indians; but this Captain Douglas pulled to pieces prior to his sailing for the Sandwich Islands the same year. The boards he took on board the Iphigenia, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick, which was cut up and used as firewood on board the Columbia; so that, on the arrival of Don Estevan J. Martinez, there was no vestige of any house remaining. As to the land Mr. Meares said he purchased of Maquinna or any other chief, we cannot say farther than we never heard of any; although we remained among these people nine months, and could converse with them perfectly well. Besides this, we have asked Maquinna and other chiefs, since our late arrival, if Captain Meares ever purchased any land in Nootka Sound; they answered—no, that Captain Kendrick was the only man to whom they had ever sold any land.

On the 8th of June the schooner Northwest America arrived, and the next day the Spaniards took possession of her. Don E. J. Martinez had an account taken of the property on board, particularly of the skins, which he said should be given to the officers and seamen, that they might be sure of their wages. On the 16th of June the sloop Princess Royal arrived from Macao, commanded by Thomas Hudson; this vessel brought accounts of the safe arrival of Captain Meares, and that Captain Colnett was coming on the coast, commodore of the English trading-vessels from Macao, for the ensuing season, in a snow named the Argonaut. Mr. Hudson likewise brought accounts of the failure of Juan Cravallia & Co., merchants of Macao before mentioned. What right the commodore had to detain the Northwest America before, it is not for us to say; but he always said it was an agreement* between Captain Douglas and himself; but, after the arrival of this vessel with the above news, he held her as security for the bills of exchange drawn on said Cravallia & Co. in favor of his Catholic Majesty: this we have heard him say. On the 2d of July the Princess Royal sailed out of the port, having, to our knowledge, been treated by the commodore and his officers with every possible attention, which Captain Hudson himself seemed conscious of and grateful for. Prior to this vessel's sailing, the commodore gave to Mr. Funter all the skins he brought in, in the Northwest America, which were shipped on board the sloop Princess Royal by Mr. Funter, for his own account. In the evening of the 2d a sail was descried from the Spanish fleet; we were among the first that went out to meet them; it proved to be the Argonaut, Captain Colnett, before mentioned. The [illegible] of this vessel were such, that we can give the [illegible] in a few words, that may answer every purpose of the particulars, many of which are not immediately to the point, or tending to what we suppose you wish to know.

---

* [illegible]

It seems Captain Meares, with some other Englishmen at Macao, had concluded to erect a fort and settle a colony in Nootka Sound; from what authority we cannot say. However, on the arrival of the Argonaut, we heard Captain Colnett inform the Spanish commodore he had come for that purpose, and to hoist the British flag, take formal possession, &c. To which the commodore answered, he had taken possessession already in the name of his Catholic Majesty; on which, Captain Colnett asked if he would be prevented from building a house in the port. The commodore, mistaking his meaning, answered him, he was at liberty to erect a tent, get wood and water, &c., after which he was at liberty to depart when he pleased; but Captain Colnett said that was not what he wanted, but to build a block-house, erect a fort, and settle a colony for the Crown of Great Britain. Don Estevan José Martinez answered no; that, in doing that, he should violate the orders of his King, run a risk of losing his commission, and, not only that, but it would be relinquishing the Spaniards' claim to the coast; besides, Don Martinez observed, the vessels did not belong to the King, nor was he intrusted with powers to transact such public business. On which, Captain Colnett answered, he was a King's officer; but Don Estevan replied, his being in the navy was of no consequence in the business. * In conversing on the subject, after the arrival of the vessel in port, it seems Captain Colnett insulted the commodore by threatening him, and drew his sword in the Princesa's cabin; on which Don Martinez ordered the vessel to be seized. We did not see him draw his sword, but were informed of the circumstance by those whose veracity we had no reason to doubt. After seizing the Argonaut, the sloop Princess Royal arrived a second time; and, as she belonged to the same company, the commodore took possession of her also. With respect to the treatment of the prisoners, although we have not perused Mr. Meares's publication, we presume none of them will be backward in confessing that Don E. J. Martinez always treated them very kindly, and all his officers consistent with the character of gentlemen.

Having acquainted you with the principal part of the business, agreeable to request, one thing remains to answer—which is, of the captain, officers, and seamen of the Northwest America. You ask if we carried them to China? We did, and with them one hundred sea-otter skins, the value of which we judge, independent of freight, was $4,875; these were delivered to Mr. Meares, and were, we suppose, his property. We sincerely hope, sir, when things are represented with truth, it will rescue our friend Don Estevan J. Martinez from censure; at least, that he may not be deemed an impostor and a pirate, which many, from only hearing one part of the story, supposed he was. As to the treatment of the Americans by Don Estevan, we have ever testified it in terms due to such hospitality, and are happy again to have it in our power to do what we deem

---

* [illegible]

justice to his conduct. While speaking of others of your nation, we can never be unmindful of you; your kind reception and treatment of us has made an impression that will not be easily erased; and we hope you will bear in mind how very sincerely we are, sir, your most humble servants,

ROBERT GRAY,
JOSEPH INGRAHAM.

To Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra.

E.

RESPECTING THE SUPPOSED SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARIES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND BRITISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA, AGREEABLY TO THE PROVISIONS TO THAT EFFECT IN THE TREATY OF UTRECHT. (SEE PAGE 150.)

No allusion to the settlement of boundaries between the British and French possessions in America, agreeably to the tenth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, in 1714, or to the appointment of commissaries for that purpose, has been found in any of the following works, which have been all carefully examined with reference to the subject, viz:

Corps Diplomatique, by Dumont; Collection de Traités, by Martens; Collections of British Treaties, by Wilkinson and Hertslet; Actes, Mémoires, &c., concernant la Paix d'Utrecht; Actes, Negociations, &c., depuis la Paix d'Utrecht, by Rousset; Mémoires des Commissaires Anglais et Français, &c., published in 1754; Collection des Edits, Ordonnances, &c., concernant le Canada; Histoire de la Louisiane, by Duprats; Histoire de la Louisiane, by Marbois; Mémoire sur la Louisiane, by Dumont; Mémoire sur la Louisiane, by Vergennes; Histoire des Indes, &c., by Raynal; the Encyclopédie Méthodique; Histories of England, by Smollett, Belsham, Lord Mahon, and Wade; Parliamentary History of England; History of the British Empire in America, by Wynne; History of Hudson's Bay, by Dobbs; Boyer's Political State—the volume for 1721 contains memoirs of Louisiana, and a map of that country; American Traveller, by Cluny; the large historical and geographical atlas by Mitchell and Senex, published at London in 1721, containing particular accounts and maps of the British and the French possessions in America; Civil and Natural History of the French Dominions in America, by Jeffries—a comprehensive work, containing numerous maps, published in 1760; American atlas, by Jeffries, published in 1778; Alcedo's Dictionary of America; map of North America, (the largest and most beautiful ever published,) by Henry Popple, which appeared in 1733, under the auspices of the Colonial Department of Great Britain; map of America, published in 1794 from the materials of Governor Pownal;—or in any other works or maps which could be considered as authorities on the subject, except those now to be mentioned.

Charlevoix, in his Histoire de la Nouvelle France,* says that commissaries were appointed in 1719 by the Governments of Great Britain and

---

* [illegible]

France to determine the limits between the possessions of the two Powers in America; but that all negotiations on that subject ended in 1729, in consequence of the desire of those Courts to avoid causes of dissatisfaction. Whether or not any settlement of boundaries was effected, he does not directly say; but from his language it is to be inferred that those questions were left undetermined. In the maps attached to his work, no line appears as the limit between the Hudson's Bay territory and the possessions of France.

The Dictionary of Commerce, translated by M. Postlewhaite from the French of Savary, with alterations and amendments, and published in 1751, contains no allusion to the southern limits of the Hudson's Bay territories, although a large portion of the work is devoted to the subject of the British and French possessions in America; but in the large map of America, attached to the Dictionary, which is there stated to have been copied, with corrections, from one then recently published at Paris (in 1746) by D'Anville, a line is laid down as the limit between the Hudson's Bay countries and the French dominions. The part of this line extending north and northwest of Lake Superior, runs nearly, but not exactly, along the 49th parallel; and a note on the map says "*the line that parts French Canada from British Canada was settled by commissaries after the peace of Utrecht, making a curve from Davis's Inlet, in the Atlantic Sea, down to the Lake Abitibis, to the Northwest Ocean; therefore M. D'Anville's dotted line east of James's Bay is false.*" No copy of D'Anville's map has been found; but the above note appears to show that the line west of James's Bay is given by Postlewhaite as represented by the French geographer.

Postlewhaite's assertion is, however, directly contradicted by John Mitchell, whose large map of America, published in 1755, under the immediate patronage of the Colonial Department of Great Britain, is generally considered as the best authority with regard to the political geography of America, at that period. In this map, a line drawn irregularly from the Atlantic along the highlands, or supposed highlands, dividing the waters falling into Hudson's Bay from those emptying into the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, or the Mississippi, is given as "*the bounds of Hudson's Bay by the treaty of Utrecht.*" This line runs around Hudson's Bay, nearly at the same distance from the shores of that sea only, in its whole course; and a very small part of it passes as far south as the 49th parallel. The boundary, thus given by Mitchell, is adopted in the map prefixed to Russell's History of America, in those published by Bennet in 1770, by Faden in 1777, and in other maps.

In a map of the British possessions in America, as settled by the treaty of 1763, published at London in 1775 by Eman Bowen and John Gibson, a line running along the 49th parallel, from a point immediately south of the southern extremity of James's Bay, westward to the Red River, and then northward, down that stream, to Lake Winnipeg, is given as the southern limit of the Hudson's Bay territory, agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht; and this is the earliest distinct declaration which has been discovered of the adoption of any part of that parallel precisely, as a boundary in North America.

Thus it appears that all the most accredited authorities, with the exception of Mitchell, are against the supposition that any boundary between the British and the French dominions in America was settled agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht; and that Mitchell represents the Hudson's Bay territories as seperated from the French possessions by an irregular line drawn along the course of the highlands surrounding, or supposed to surround, that sea.

In support of the opinion that no such boundary was settled, may be cited the following remarks upon that article, extracted from Anderson's elaborate History of Commerce, vol. iii, page 267: "Though the French King yielded to the Queen of Great Britain, to be possessed by her in full right, for ever, the Bay and Straits of Hudson, and all parts thereof, and within the same, then possessed by France, yet leaving the boundaries between Hudson's Bay and the north parts of Canada belonging to France, to be determined by commissaries within a year, was, in effect, the same thing as giving up the point altogether; it being well known to all Europe, that France never permits her commissaries to determine matters referred to such, unless it can be done with great advantage to her. Those boundaries, therefore, have never yet been settled, though both British and French subjects are by that article expressly debarred from passing over the same, or thereby to go to each other by sea or land. These commissaries were likewise to settle the boundaries between the other British and French colonies on that continent; which, likewise, was never done." The correctness of the concluding part of these remarks is well known; and it is scarcely probable that either of the Powers would have assented to a partial determination of boundaries. The remarks of Anderson are incorporated in Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, published in 1805.

Maps, which are so frequently consulted on the subject of boundaries, and which, therefore, ought to be the best authorities, are, unfortunately, in general the very worst, as they are for the most part made by persons unacquainted with political history. Of the truth of this assertion innumerable instances might be adduced. In a large and beautifully engraved map of the United States, published at Philadelphia in 1821, "*from the most undoubted authorities*, by —— —— *geographer and draughtsman*," the northern boundary of the part of the United States west of the Mississippi, is represented by a line drawn westward from the sources of that river nearly under the latitude of 47 degrees and 40 minutes; the country north of this line being stated to be "*in dispute between Spain and Great Britain.*" Now, three years before this map appeared, the boundary between the United States and the British possessions in that part of America, had been fixed by treaty; according to which, the dividing-line followed the course of the 49th parallel; and two years before the date of the map, Spain had also, by treaty, ceded to the United States her rights to all territories in America north of the 42d parallel. These treaties had been published; and it is scarcely credible that they should have been unknown to an American geographer engaged in preparing a map of the United States. The French have made great use of maps, and have had maps made for use in their negotiations about boundaries with Great Britain. Books of geography are also in general incorrect as regards boundaries. In the Encyclopædia of Geography, published at Edinburgh in 1834, by Hugh Murray, and other scientific persons, we find it stated, (page 1374,) that "the whole region west of the Rocky Mountains, extending between the 42d and the 49th parallels of latitude, *has, by discovery and treaty, been assigned to the United States.*" A statement to the same effect may be found in the London Quarterly Review for January, 1822.

F.

TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS, RELATING TO THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

(1.)

Convention between Great Britain and Spain, signed at the Escurial, October 28, 1790, may be found at length in the Memoir, page 114.

(2.)

Convention between the United States of America and Great Britain, signed at London, October 20, 1818.

"Art. 2. It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the 49th parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south, as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel, shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic Majesty; and that the said line shall form the northern boundary of the said territories of the United States, and the southern boundary of the territories of his Britannic Majesty, from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains.

"Art. 3. It is agreed that any country that may be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America, westward of the Stony Mountains, shall, together with its harbors, bays, and creeks, and the navigation of all rivers within the same, be free and open for the term of ten years from the date of the signature of the present convention, to the vessels, citizens, and subjects of the two Powers; it being well understood that this agreement is not to be construed to the prejudice of any claim which either of the two high contracting parties may have to any part of the said country, nor shall it be taken to affect the claims of any other Power or State to any part of the said country; the only object of the high contracting parties, in that respect, being to prevent disputes and differences among themselves."

(3.)

Treaty of amity, settlement, and limits, between the United States and Spain, (commonly called the Florida Treaty,) signed at Washington, February 22, 1819.

"Art. 3. The boundary-line between the two countries, west of the Mississippi, shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the River Sabine, in the sea, continuing north, along the western bank of that river, to the 32d degree of latitude; thence, by a line due north, to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches, or Red River; then, following the course of the Rio Roxo westward, to the degree of longitude 100 west from London and 23 from Washington; then crossing the said Red River, and running thence, by a line due north, to the River Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source in latitude 42 north; and thence, by that parallel of latitude, to the South Sea; the whole being as laid down in Melish's map of the United States, published at Philadelphia, improved to the 1st of January, 1818. But, if the source of the Arkansas River shall be found to fall north or south of latitude 42, then the line shall run from the said source due south or north, as the case may be, till it meets the said parallel of latitude 42, and thence, along the said parallel, to the South Sea. All the islands in the Sabine, and the said Red and Arkansas Rivers, throughout the course thus described, to belong to the United States; but the use of the waters and the navigation of the Sabine to the sea, and of the said Rivers Roxo and Arkansas, throughout the extent of the said boundary, on their respective banks, shall be common to the respective inhabitants of both nations.

"The two high contracting parties agree to cede and renounce all their rights, claims, and pretensions to the territories described by the said line; that is to say, the United States hereby cede to his Catholic Majesty, and renounce forever all their rights, claims, and pretensions to the territories lying west and south of the above described line; and, in like manner, his Catholic Majesty cedes to the said United States all his rights, claims, and pretensions to any territories east and north of the said line; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, renounces all claim to the said territories forever."

(4.)

Convention between the United States and Russia, signed at Saint Petersburgh on the $\frac{5}{17}$ of April, 1824.

"ART. 1. It is agreed that, in any part of the great ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea, the respective citizens or subjects of the high contracting Powers shall be neither disturbed nor restrained, either in navigation or in fishing, or in the power of resorting to the coasts, upon points which may not already have been occupied, for the purpose of trading with the natives; saving always the restrictions and conditions determined by the following articles:

"ART. 2. With the view of preventing the rights of navigation and of fishing, exercised upon the great ocean by the citizens and subjects of the high contracting Powers, from becoming the pretext for an illicit trade, it is agreed that the citizens of the United States shall not resort to any point where there is a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commander; and that, reciprocally, the subjects of Russia shall not resort, without permission, to any establishment of the United States upon the northwest coast.

"ART. 3. It is, moreover, agreed that, hereafter, there shall not be formed by the citizens of the United States, or under the authority of the said States, any establishment upon the northwest coast of America, nor in any of the islands adjacent, *to the north* of 54 degrees and 40 minutes of north latitude; and that, in the same manner, there shall be none formed by Russian subjects, or under the authority of Russia, *south* of the same parallel.

"ART. 4. It is, nevertheless, understood, that during a term of ten years, counting from the signature of the present convention, the ships of both Powers, or which belong to their citizens or subjects, respectively, may reciprocally frequent, without any hindrance whatever, the interior seas, gulfs, harbors, and creeks, upon the coast mentioned in the preceding article, for the purpose of fishing and trading with the natives of the country.

"Art. 5. All spirituous liquors, fire-arms, other arms, powder, and munitions of war of every kind, are always excepted from this same commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two Powers engage, reciprocally, neither to sell, nor suffer them to be sold to the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any person who may be under their authority. It is likewise stipulated, that this restriction shall never afford a pretext, nor be advanced, in any case, to authorize either search or detention of the vessels, seizure of the merchandise, or, in fine, any measures of constraint whatever, towards the merchants or the crews who may carry on this commerce; the high contracting Powers reciprocally reserving to themselves to determine upon the penalties to be incurred, and to inflict the punishments in case of the contravention of this article by their respective citizens or subjects."

(5.)

Convention between Great Britain and Russia, signed at Saint Petersburgh, February $\frac{16}{28}$, 1825.

"Art. 1. It is agreed that the respective subjects of the high contracting parties shall not be troubled or molested in any part of the ocean, commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coast as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following articles:

"Art. 2. In order to prevent the right of navigating and fishing, exercised upon the ocean by the subjects of the high contracting parties, from becoming the pretext for an illicit commerce, it is agreed that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall not land at any place where there may be a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant; and, on the other hand, that Russian subjects shall not land, without permission, at any British establishment on the northwest coast.

"Art. 3. The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties, upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the northwest, shall be drawn in the manner following: Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and the 133d degree of west longitude, (meridian of Greenwich,) the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude. From this last mentioned point, the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, (of the same meridian.) And, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the continent of America to the northwest.

"Art. 4. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood—

"1st. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

"2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.

"Art. 5. It is, moreover, agreed that no establishment shall be formed by either of the two parties within the limits assigned by the two preceding articles to the possessions of the other; consequently, British subjects shall not form any establishment either upon the coast, or upon the border of the continent comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions, as designated in the two preceding articles; and, in like manner, no establishment shall be formed by Russian subjects beyond the said limits.

"Art. 6. It is understood that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean, or from the interior of the continent, shall forever enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers and streams which, in their course towards the Pacific Ocean, may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in article 3 of the present convention.

"Art. 7. It is also understood, that, for the space of ten years from the signature of the present convention, the vessels of the two Powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent, without any hindrance whatever, all the inland seas, the gulfs, havens, and creeks on the coast, mentioned in article 3, for the purposes of fishing and of trading with the natives.

"Art. 8. The port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, shall be open to the commerce and vessels of British subjects for the space of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present convention. In the event of an extension of this term of ten years being granted to any other Power, the like extension shall be granted also to Great Britain.

"Art. 9. The above mentioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade in spirituous liquors, in fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder, or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging not to permit the abovementioned articles to be sold or delivered, in any manner whatever, to the natives of the country.

"Art. 10. Every British or Russian vessel navigating the Pacific Ocean, which may be compelled by storms or by accident to take shelter in the ports of the respective parties, shall be at liberty to refit therein, to provide itself with all necessary stores, and to put to sea again, without paying any other than port and light-house dues, which shall be the same as those paid by national vessels. In case, however, the master of such vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his merchandise in order to defray his expenses, he shall conform himself to the regulations and tariffs of the place where he may have landed.

"Art. 11. In every case of complaint on account of an infraction of the articles of the present convention, the civil and military authorities of the high contracting parties, without previously acting, or taking any forcible measure, shall make an exact and circumstantial report of the matter to their respective courts, who engage to settle the same in a friendly manner, and according to the principles of justice."

(6.)

Convention between the United States and Great Britain, signed at London, August 6, 1827.

"ART. 1. All the provisions of the third article of the convention concluded between the United States of America and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the 20th of October, 1818, shall be, and they are hereby, further indefinitely extended and continued in force, in the same manner as if all the provisions of the said article were herein specifically recited.

"ART. 2. It shall be competent, however, to either of the contracting parties, in case either should think fit, at any time after the 20th of October, 1828, on giving due notice of twelve months to the other contracting party, to annul and abrogate this convention; and it shall, in such case, be accordingly entirely annulled and abrogated, after the expiration of the said term of notice.

"ART. 3. Nothing contained in this convention, or in the third article of the convention of the 20th October, 1818, hereby continued in force, shall be construed to impair, or in any manner affect, the claims which either of the contracting parties may have to any part of the country westward of the Stony or Rocky Mountains."

INDEX.

Page.

A.

- Adams's, J. Q., correspondence with the Russian Government respecting American fur-traders in the north Pacific - - 147
  - correspondence with the Russian Minister at Washington, respecting the ukase of 1821 181
- Aguilar's voyage - - - 45
- Alarcon's voyage in search of Cibola - 29
- Aleutian Islands - - - - 5, 65
- Aliaska - - - - - 4
- Arteaga's voyage - - - 84
- Ashley's trading expeditions from Missouri to the Far West - - 194
- Astoria founded - - - - 157
  - taken by the British - - 161
  - restored to the Americans - 165

B.

- Balboa discovers the Pacific - - 22
- Baranoff, Governor of Russian-America 145
  - founds New Archangel - 145
  - establishes a Russian colony in California - - - 148
  - attempts to take possession of one of the Sandwich Islands 149
- Becerra discovers California - - 24
- Beering's first voyage - - - 59
  - second voyage - - 60
  - third and last voyage - - 61
  - death - - - - 63
- Benyowsky's voyage from Kamschatka to China - - - - 67
- Berkely re-discovers the Strait of Fuca 91
- Billing's voyage - - - 89, 122
- Blue Mountains - - - - 16
- Bodega and Maurelle's first voyage - 71
  - second voyage - 84
- Broughton surveys the lower part of the Columbia River - - 136
  - sent to receive possession of Nootka - - - 141
- Bulfinch's Harbor discovered by Gray - 126
  - surveyed by Whidbey 135

C.

- Caamano's voyage - - - 122
- Cabeza Vaca's journey from Florida to the Pacific - - - - 27
- Cabrillo's voyage - - - 31

Page.

- California described - - - 9
  - discovered - - - 24
  - unsuccessful attempts of the Spaniards to settle in it - 48
  - occupied by the Jesuits - 49
  - first colonies on its western side - - - 53
- Carver's journey - - - 76
- Cavendish's voyage - - - 36
- Cermeñon's voyage - - - 34
- Cibola, fabulous account of - - 28
- Clarke and Lewis, expedition of - 152
- Colnett's voyage - - - - 106
- Columbia River described - - 18
  - its mouth first discovered by Heceta - 73
  - sought for in vain by Meares - - 93
  - sought for in vain by Vancouver - - 124
  - first entered by Gray - 126
  - survey of the lower part by Broughton - 136
  - examined by Lewis and Clarke - - 152
  - first settlement on it by Henry - - 156
- Convention of 1790, between Great Britain and Spain - 114, 171
  - of 1818, between the United States and Great Britain - - - 169, 219
  - of 1824, between Russia and the United States - 180, 220
  - of 1825, between Russia and Great Britain - 181, 221
  - of 1827, between Great Britain and the United States - - 186, 223
- Cook's last voyage - - - 78
  - death - - - - 82
- Coronado's expedition in search of Cibola - - - - - 29
- Cortereal discovers the Strait of Anian 39
- Cortes conquers Mexico - - 23
  - expeditions of, on the Pacific - 24

D.

- Dixon's voyage - - - - 87
- Douglas's voyage - - - 101
- Drake's voyage - - - 35, 201
- Duffin's evidence respecting the events at Nootka in 1789 - - 108, 133

Page.

F.

Falkland Islands, dispute between Great Britain and Spain respecting the - 54
Fidalgo's voyage - - - - - 118
Fleurieu's Introduction to Marchand's Journal - - - - 71, 119
Florida explored by Narvaez - - 27
 by Soto - - 31
Florida treaty - - - 170, 219
Fonté, fabulous account of his voyage 41
Forsyth's, John, instructions to the American minister at Saint Petersburgh, respecting the renewal of the fourth article of the convention of 1824 - 189
Forts Vancouver, Okanagan, and Colville - - - - - 20
Fuca's voyage - - - 42, 207
Fur trade, Russian - - 58, 64, 144
 British - - 84, 87, 192
 American - 89, 143, 156, 194

G.

Gali's voyage - - - - - 33
Galiano and Valdes, voyage of - 122, 130
 journal of - - 131
Gallatin's negotiations at London in 1826 - - - - - - 183
Gray's first voyage - - - 89
 second voyage - - - 129
Gray discovers Bulfinch's Harbor - 125
 enters the Columbia River - 126
 and Ingraham's letter to Quadra 132, 210

H.

Harmon's Journal - - - 156
Hearne's journeys - - - 75
Heceta's voyage - - - - 71
Heceta discovers the mouth of the Columbia - - - - - 72
Howell's account of the negotiation between Vancouver and Quadra at Nootka - - - - - 134
Hudson's Bay discovered - - 47
Hudson's Bay Company established - 75
Hudson's Bay Company united with the Northwest Company - - - 175
Hudson's Bay Company, particular account of its system - - - 192
Humboldt's accounts of the northwest coast nearly all derived from Navarrete - - - - - - 34
Hunt—see *Astoria*.

I.

Ingraham's voyage - - - 120
 Journal, extract from - 134
Ingraham and Gray, letter from, to Quadra - - - 132, 210

J.

Jesuits establish themselves in California 46
 are expelled from California - 50
Jesup's, General T. S., plan for occupying the Columbia - - - 178

Page.

Jewitt's account of his captivity at Nootka 142

K.

Kamschatka described - - - 5
 conquered by the Russians 58
Kendrick's voyage - - - 89
Kendrick purchases land from the Indians at Nootka - - 121
 commences the trade in sandal-wood between the Sandwich Islands and China - 122
Kodiak described - - 6, 65
Krenitzen and Levashef's voyage - 66
Krusenstern and Lisiansky's voyages - 147

L.

Ledyard's attempt to proceed from Paris, through Russia and America, to the United States - - - - 140
Levashef and Krenitzin's voyage - 66
Lewis or Snake River described - 19
Lewis and Clarke's expedition from the United States to the mouth of the Columbia in 1805-'6 - - - 152
Louisiana, supposed extent of, in the north and west - - - 149
 not limited on the north by the 49th parallel, agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht, as generally supposed - 150, 216

M.

Mackenzie's journeys - - - 139
Magellan's voyage - - - 22
Malaspina's voyage - - - 118
Maldonado's pretended voyage - 40, 205
Maquinna, king of Nootka 90, 101, 132, 142
Marchand's voyage - - - 119
 observations of no value - 119
Marcos de Niza's fabulous account of Cibola - - - - - - 28
Martinez, first voyage of - - 96
 occupies Nootka - - 104
 seizes two Portuguese vessels 105
 seizes two English vessels - 107
 abandons Nootka - - 110
Maurelle's journal of his first voyage in the north Pacific - - 71
 journal of his second voyage 85
McDougal—see *Astoria*.
Meares's voyage from Macao to Nootka 100
Meares attempts to penetrate the Strait of Fuca - - - - 92
 attempts to find the mouth of the great river, now called the Columbia - - - - 93
 it is pretended by the British, discovered the River Columbia - 129
 falsehood of many of his statements proved - - - 100
Mendoza's voyage - - - 24
Monroe's, President, declaration that the American continents are not to be considered as subjects for colonization by European Powers - - - 178

Page.

- Monterey settled by the Spaniards - 53
- Multonomah or Wallamet River 20, 198

N.

- Navarrete's Introduction to the Journal of the Sutil and Mexicana - - 131
- Nootka Sound described - - 8, 90
  - discovered by Perez - - 70
  - visited by Cook - - - 80
  - great resort of the fur-traders - 70
  - occupied by the Spaniards - 104
  - claimed by the British - - 117
  - abandoned by the Spaniards - 110
  - re-occupied by the Spaniards - 118
  - finally abandoned - - 141
- Northwest Fur-trading Company, of Montreal, established - - - 139
- Northwest Fur trading Company's first establishment west of the Rocky Mountains - - - - - - 155
- Northwest Fur-trading Company united with the Hudson's Bay Company - 175

O.

- Oregon, River of, as described by Carver, does not exist - - - 77
  - name of, probably invented by Carver - - - 77
  - name of, should be retained - 128
  - territory described - - 12
- Owyhee ceded by its sovereign to Vancouver, for Great Britain - - 138

P.

- Perez, voyage of - - - - 69
  - discovers Nootka Sound - - 70
- Pèrouse, voyage of - - - 87
- Philippine Islands conquered by the Spaniards - - - - - 32
- Portlock's voyage - - - 91
- Promuschleniks - - - - 146

Q.

- Quadra, Spanish commissioner at Nootka 132
- Queen Charlotte's, or Washington's Island - - - - - 7, 123

R.

- Rocky Mountains described - - 11
- Rodman's journey across the continent from the Missouri to the Pacific - 140
- Rush's negotiations at London in 1818 - 164
  - in 1824 - 179
- Russian discoveries in America - 58
- Russian-American Company established 145
- Russian-American Company's system, account of the - - - - 146

S.

- San Diego described - - - 9
  - settled by the Spaniards - 53
- San Francisco Bay described - - 9

Page.

- Sandwich Islands discovered by Cook - 82
  - described - - 198
- Shellikof makes the first Russian settlements on the American continent - 88
- Sitca described - - - - 141
  - founded - - - - 145
- Snake or Lewis River described - 19
- Strait of Fuca described - - - 8
  - discovered - - 42
  - re-discovered by Berkely 91
  - entered by Gray - - 92
  - completely explored by Vancouver and Galiano and Valdes - 130
- Strait of Anian, supposed to be Hudson's Strait, discovered by Cortereal - 39
- Sutil and Mexicana, voyage of the 122, 130

T.

- Tamahamaha, king of the Sandwich Islands, cedes Owyhee to Great Britain - 138
- Treaty of Partition between Spain and Portugal - - - 21
  - of Utrecht between Great Britain and France - - - 150
  - Florida, between the United States and Spain - 170, 219
- Tschirikof discovers the American continent - - - - - - 63

U.

- Ukase of the Russian Emperor, issued in 1821, prohibiting foreigners from trading in the north Pacific - - 176
- Ulloa's voyage, in which he discovers the west coast of California - - 26
- Unalashka described - - - 5
- United States vessels first visit the north Pacific - - - - - 89
- United States treaties, respecting the northwest coasts: with Great Britain 169, 185, 219, 223
  - with Spain 170, 219
  - with Russia 180, 220
- Urdaneta discovers the mode of navigating the Pacific from east to west - 32

V.

- Vancouver sails to the Pacific - - 117
  - explores the coast from Cape Mendocino to the Strait of Fuca - - 123
  - meets Gray, who informs him of the discovery of the great river - - - 124
  - surveys the Strait of Fuca - 130
  - negotiations of, with Quadra, at Nootka - - - 132
  - orders Broughton to examine the Columbia River - 135
  - attempts to rob Gray of the merit of his discoveries - 136
  - his animosity against the Americans - 133, 139
  - his other discoveries - 136
  - his death - - - 139

	Page.
Vancouver, great value of the journals and charts of - - - -	118
Venegas's voyages, and survey of the west coast of California - -	46

W.

Wallamet, or Multnomah River, American settlement - - - -	31, 186
Washington's, or Queen Charlotte's Island, first circumnavigated by Gray	91
Washington Isles, in the South Pacific, first discovered by Ingraham - -	120
Whidbey surveys Bullfinch's Harbor -	125
Wicananish, king of Clyoquot - -	91
seizes the American ship Tonquin, and murders the crew - - - -	150
Wyeth's attempt to form an American trading settlement on the Columbia -	185

Y.

Youta Lake - - - -	27